ADVERTISING SHITS IN YOUR HEAD

Strategies for resistance

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#ADHACKMANIFESTO

1. ADVERTISING SHITS IN YOUR HEAD

IT IS A FORM OF VISUAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL POLLUTION.

2. REMOVING/REPLACING/DEFACING ADVERTISING IS NOT VANDALISM

IT IS AN ACT OF TIDYING UP THAT IS BOTH LEGALLY & MORALLY DEFENSIBLE.

3. THE VISUAL REALM IS A PUBLIC REALM IT IS PART OF THE COMMONS

IT BELONGS TO EVERYONE, SO NO-ONE SHOULD BE ABLE TO OWN IT.

4. OUTDOOR ADVERTISING CAN AND SHOULD BE BANNED

SAO PAULO DID IT IN 2007, & GRENOBLE FOLLOWED SUIT IN 2015.

PART ONE:

ADVERTISING SHITS IN YOUR HEAD

In 2013 we spent £9.6m telling you we're not violent, racist and corrupt. It's propaganda pure and simple.
Using public money to lie to the public
#ACAB

1

PR-OPAGANDA

"20th century advertising is the most powerful and sustained system of propaganda in human history and its cumulative cultural effects, unless quickly checked, will be responsible for destroying the world as we know it. As it achieves this it will be responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of non-western peoples and will prevent the peoples of the world from achieving true happiness. Simply stated, our survival as a species is dependent upon minimizing the threat from advertising and the commercial culture that has spawned it."[1]

Sut Jahally

The modern subvertising movement has consumerism as its target. Many practitioners present their work as explicitly anti-capitalist and almost all object to outdoor advertising as a form of propaganda. Jordan Seiler of the Public Ad Campaign notes how ingrained in our collective consciousness both capitalism and the system of propaganda that promotes it have become:

> *"[Our acceptance of advertising is] testament to how much advertising in general has actually infused itself into our lives and we consider it to be a medium that is inescapable and just inherently a part of the capitalist system."*[2]

In the section "Why Brandalise?" from the Brandalism website, the authors specifically cite the system of propaganda that we euphemistically call public relations, which they claim advances unsustainable economic growth.[3]

But what does it mean to categorise outdoor advertising as propaganda?

BAD WORDS?

"Propaganda got to be a bad word because of the Germans using it, so what I did was to try and find some other word, so we found the word Counsel on Public Relations."[4]

Edward Bernays

Edward Bernays is widely considered to be the founder of the modern public relations industry. The nephew of Sigmund Freud, he was the first person to use his uncle's insights from psychoanalysis to appeal to an advertising audience's emotions. This marks an enormous milestone in marketing and is a strategy that remains essentially unchanged today; this turning point can justifiably be considered the birth of the consumer.

But before public relations was called public relations it was called propaganda; it is no small irony that propaganda got such a bad name from its war-time usage – in mobilising millions to the deadliest conflagration the world had yet seen – that the word itself had to be spun. The man responsible

for effecting the name-change was Edward Bernays, the most famous practitioner of the industry he invented. Before he'd changed the name, Bernays wrote a book on its practice, entitled Propaganda – it is basically a beginners guide to public relations, propaganda for propaganda.

Although the name may have changed, public relations retains its essential definition: Effort directed systematically toward gaining support for an opinion or a course of action. In Propaganda, Bernays explains: "The mechanism by which ideas are disseminated on a large scale is propaganda, in the broad sense of an organised effort to spread a particular belief or doctrine."[5] It only became a dirty word because "the Germans" used it, but it is exactly the same method. Bernays also uses examples of how propaganda is necessary to bring about the changes in public opinion that allow, for example, dangerous chemicals in food to be outlawed.[6] Propaganda is neither inherently good nor bad: it's what you do with it that counts.[7]

Indeed, for Bernays, the conscious manipulation of the masses by means of propaganda was seen not only as inevitable and benign, but as a necessary part of democracy. It is a claim that rests both on the idea that the mass of people – the public – are dangerous when left to their own devices, but also that certain individuals – and only these individuals – are talented enough to guide the rest. Where subvertising activists describe outdoor advertising as undemocratic – in that there is no collective control over it – Bernays suggests that public relations are an important componant of a democratic

society. The meaning of the word democracy is highly contested: in Bernays' schema it takes on such paradoxical meaning as to almost constitute double-think:

> *"The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of the country. We are governed, our minds moulded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of. This is a logical result of the way in which our democratic society is organised. Vast numbers of human beings must co-operate in this manner if they are to live together as a smoothly functioning society."*[8]

For Bernays, a smoothly functioning society was one marshalled around consumption;[9] he viewed the American way of life as so entwined with capitalism as to be almost identical. Though he occasionally uses examples of other ways propaganda can be used, Bernays has a special place for propaganda that promotes what he claims to be the civilising influence of capitalism. Bernays also makes the claim that good advertising is not simply propaganda for an individual product, or even for an individual company, but for the entire system of consumption.[10]

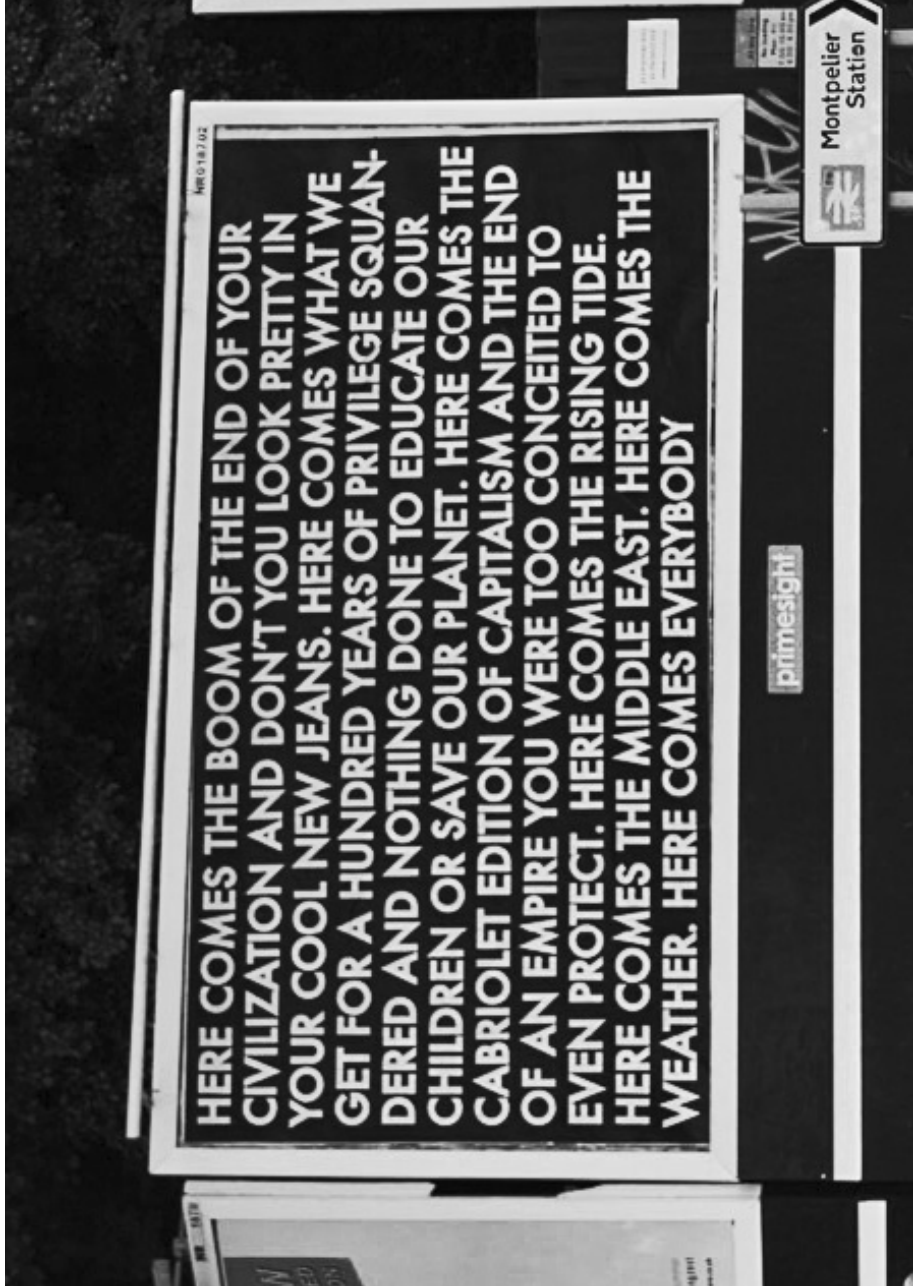
Subvertisers claim that this conscious manipulation of the masses – practically unchanged since Bernays – places the emphasis on passive consumption over active political participation.

THE EDGE OF APOCALYPSE

It is further claimed that passive participation in a system that demands nothing more than unquestioned consumption may be taking a devastating toll in terms of environmental destruction. Subvertisers follow Sut Jahally (quoted at the start of this chapter) when they claim that advertising is fuel for the capitalist system, a system of exponential growth and ever-increasing consumption on a finite planet. Brandalism performed their largest ad-takeover to date – by installing over 600 posters in bus stop advertising spaces – in protest at the COP 21 climate talks in Paris. Bill Posters of Brandalism explains their targeting of the climate talks:

> *"We are taking their spaces back because we want to challenge the role advertising plays in promoting unsustainable consumerism. Because the advertising industry force feeds our desires for products created from fossil fuels, they are intimately connected to causing climate change. As is the case with the climate talks and their corporate sponsored events, outdoor advertising ensures that those with the most money are able to ensure that their voices get heard above all else."*[11]

It's not that propaganda, public relations, advertising or the intersections of all three are inherently evil; it is rather that the system they have been so adept at promoting throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is responsible for economic crises, resource wars, widening inequality and, perhaps most alarmingly, environmental destruction on a global scale. Subvertisers can justifiably argue that propaganda is, once again, marshalling millions to their deaths.


HERE COMES THE BOOM OF THE END OF YOUR CIVILIZATION AND DON'T YOU LOOK PRETTY IN YOUR COOL NEW JEANS. HERE COMES WHAT WE GET FOR A HUNDRED YEARS OF PRIVILEGE SQUANDERED AND NOTHING DONE TO EDUCATE OUR CHILDREN OR SAVE OUR PLANET. HERE COMES THE CABRIOLET EDITION OF CAPITALISM AND THE END OF AN EMPIRE YOU WERE TOO CONCEITED TO EVEN PROTECT. HERE COMES THE RISING TIDE. HERE COMES THE MIDDLE EAST. HERE COMES THE WEATHER. HERE COMES EVERYBODY
Montpelier Station
primesight

2

ADVERTISING SHITS IN YOUR HEAD

"Advertising shits all over and dominates our culture. It is a visceral, powerful form of pollution that not only affects our common public and cultural spaces, but also our deeply private intimate spaces. Advertisers want your 'brain time' – to shit in your head without your knowledge. We want to stop them."[12]

Bill Posters – Brandalism

VISUAL POLLUTION

A common theme amongst subvertising activists is to conceptualise advertising as a form of pollution. Bill Posters refers to it as pollution in his 2014 article "Advertising Shits in Your Head",[13] and Special Patrol Group's second Ad Hack Manifesto claim is that advertising is "a form of visual and psychological pollution". This echoes artist and subvertiser Darren Cullen's sentiments in an interview about subvertising, when he called removing or replacing advertising "an act of tidying up".[14] When Sao Paolo Mayor Gilberto Kassab implemented the Clean City Law in 2007, it too labelled outdoor adverts a form of "visual pollution".

It is certainly true that the average city dweller is confronted by what the industry terms Out Of Home (OOH) advertising at a dazzling rate. In the UK, the average commuter is exposed to more than 130 adverts featuring more than 80 different products in a 45-minute London Underground journey; in an entire day, residents of the capital are likely to see around 3500 commercial messages.[15]

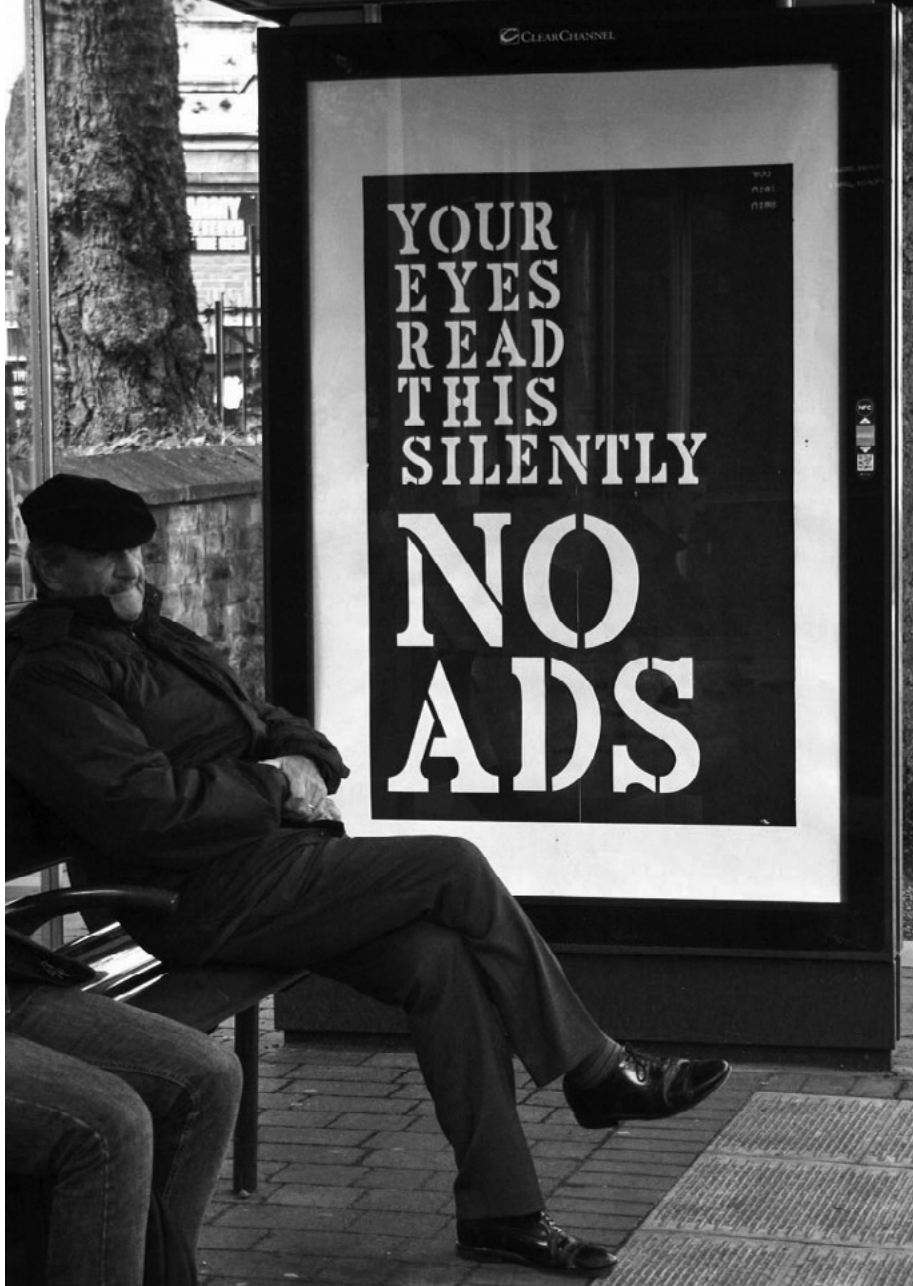
Subvertisers claim that – just as with other pollutants – the presence of advertising in the environment has harmful effects.

YOUR EYES READ THIS SILENTLY

Perhaps one reason a comparison with pollution is apt is the way that advertising can accumulate in the environment – a sort of commercial clutter. It is as background environmental accumulation that advertising can be most harmful.

Some advertisers claim that the affect of advertising is benign,[16] at the same time as claiming it is a powerful form of persuasion; on one hand, nobody notices outdoor adverts anyway, and, on the other, it is a multi-billion dollar industry that helps to influence our decisions.[17] The reason it's possible to claim that "99%% of adverts make little or no impact"[18] and still sell advertising at an ever-increasing rate is that it is precisely as background noise that adverts have their most powerful effect.

Advertising researcher Dr Robert Heath has proven that advertising works on a subconscious level, meaning it works



on us without high levels of attention. He posits a "Low Attention Processing Model", which shows that advertising has an effect on us even when we don't actively notice it or aren't able to consciously recall it.[19] Furthermore, he has proven that advertising works on an emotional rather than an intellectual level, meaning that even those who are conscious of advertising's false promises can still be persuaded through their feelings. The only way to avoid this subconscious effect is to avoid advertising altogether; as subvertisers and advertisers alike point out, that is almost impossible.

WORK MORE, SLEEP LESS

The advertising industry claims that advertising merely redistributes consumption – from one product to another, a perpetual war between brands. Critics of advertising claim the opposite is true: that advertising increases overall consumption by creating needs. Advertisers claim they're looking for market-share; critics claim they're expanding or creating markets.

The most famous advocate of the idea that advertising increases consumption is JK Galbraith in The Affluent Society. He argued that there exists a "dependence effect" – that once basic human needs had been met more must be manufactured to sustain demand in a growth-economy.[20] His assertion has recently been proven by researchers Benedetto Molinari and Francesco Turino in their study on the macro-economic impacts of advertising:

"We tested the spread-it-around [or "market share"] against market enhancing [or "dependence effect"] hypotheses as originally stated by Galbraith. Our main finding is that the second hypothesis is preferred by the data."[21]

Although human needs may be finite, human desire can be infinite.[22] The stoking of this desire has seen citizens in the UK take on an unprecedented level of consumer debt;[23] to service both our manufactured desires and the debt we take on in a never-ending attempt to satisfy them, we're working more and more.[24] There are several pieces of research that suggest there is a direct link between exposure to advertising and increased working hours. Researchers from the University of Warwick and Nottingham found that while working hours decreased between 1850 and 1950, working hours plateaued at around 42-43 hours per week in the following forty years. Over the same period, advertising expenditure increased from £3.8bn in 1970 to 10.5bn in 1997. They used statistical modelling to explore the relationship between advertising spend and hours worked and found that:

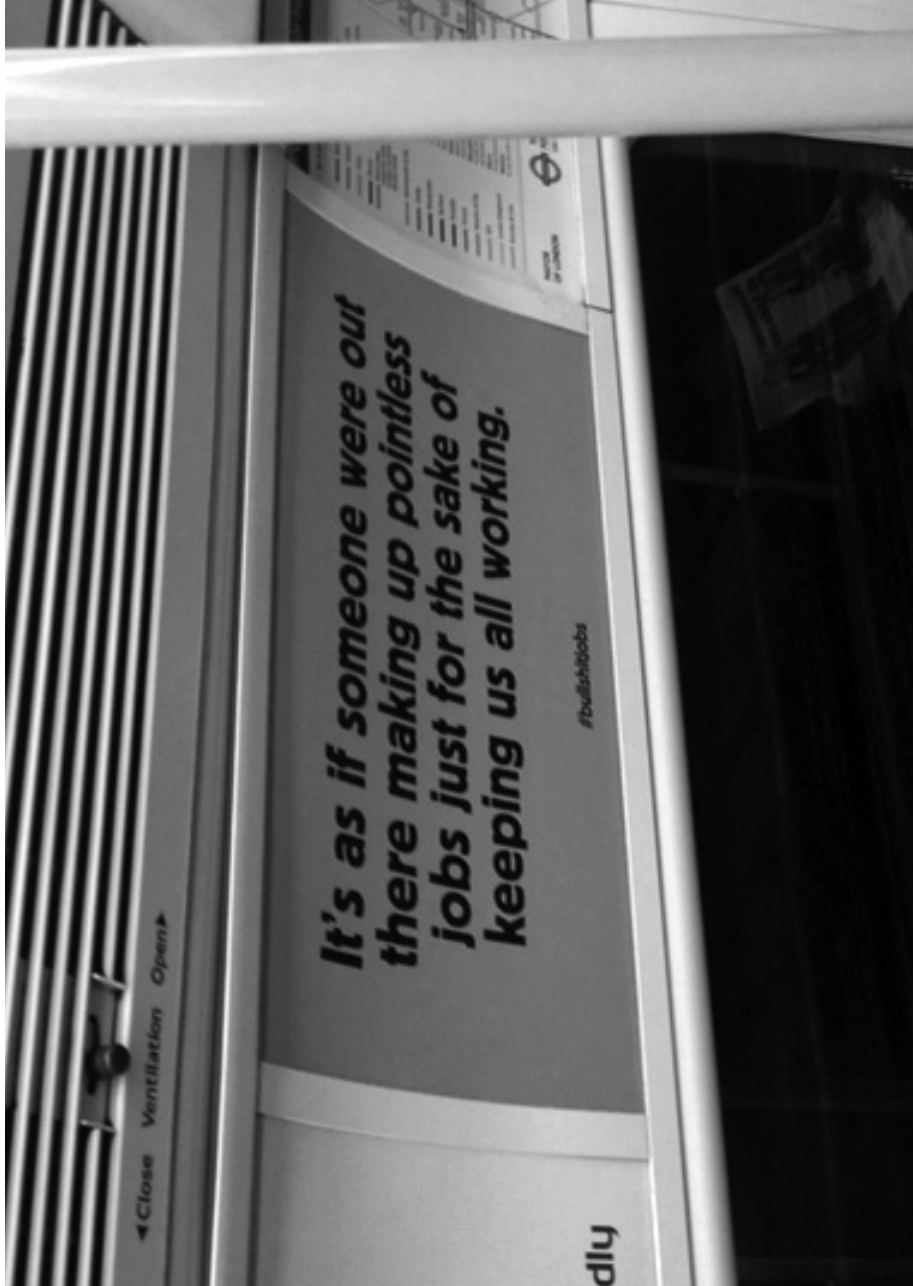
"an increase in advertising is associated with an increase in hours worked... causality runs unidirectionally from advertising to hours."

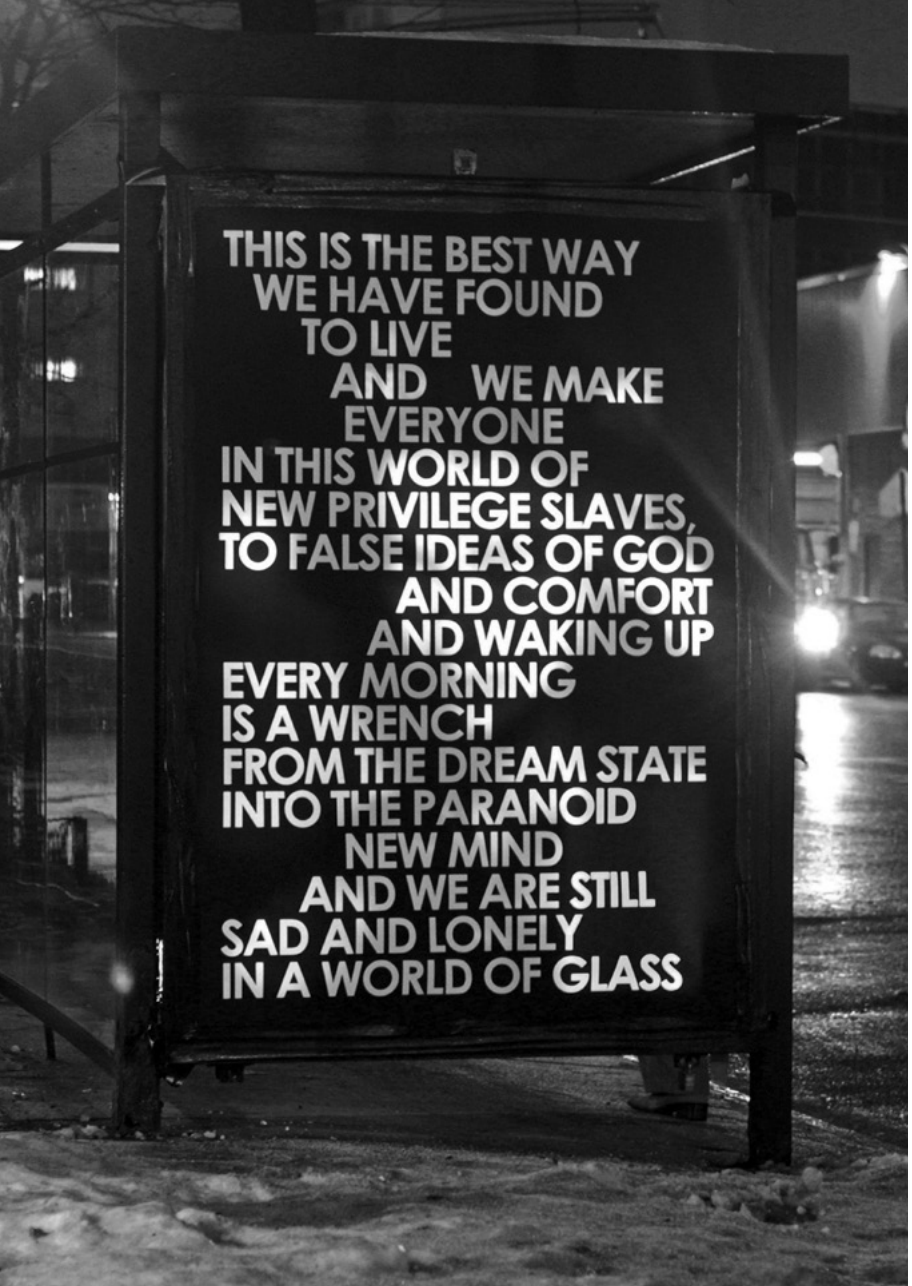
HAPPINESS

"Advertising is not about catering to existing needs, but creating new desires. Not only desires, but insecurities as well, because we cannot desire without feeling we lack something."[25]

Advertising may be exceptionally adept at creating needs, but it is singularly bad at meeting them, at making good on its promises. Critics claim that unsatisfied needs, even those manufactured artificially, are a cause of unhappiness. Furthermore, they posit a new form of cyclical consumerism that follows the "I eat because I'm unhappy" model: the more anxious and depressed we are, the more we must consume; the more we consume, the more anxious and depressed we become. Left-leaning think-tank Compass puts it this way:

"Advertising is the fuel that is driving this system; it persuades us to buy material possessions in the quest for happiness – but this is only making us unhappy... The goal of advertising then is not the creation of happiness and consumer fulfilment. Instead the purpose and consequence seems to be the creation of a mood of restless dissatisfaction with what we have got and who we are so that we go out and buy more."[26]


It's as if someone were out there making up pointless jobs just for the sake of keeping us all working.
#bullshitjobs
Close Ventilation Open



3

SOCIETY'S STORY

"It follows, too, that the masses [...] in the city are subject to manipulation by symbols and stereotypes managed by individuals working from afar or operating invisibly behind the scenes through their control of the instruments of communication."[27]

Louis Wirth

Advertisers like to claim that advertising only reflects existing cultural values, that their ads merely hold a mirror up to the world – any horror we might see was already there anyway. While this is certainly true in one sense, subvertisers claim that it's the emphasis placed on certain of these innate values over others that's harmful. Again, the advertisers' claim to the public that they have no real influence appears to be at odds with the claims they make to their clients.

CULTURAL NARRATIVE

Our cultural narrative is told in many ways and through many mediums – it is the sum of all of these parts that tells our collective story. One of our most important spaces for telling that story – public space – is increasingly becoming privately owned and dominated by private interests. Jordan Seiler points out that the stories that are told by those

interests are rarely, if ever, some of "our more interesting goals for ourselves as a society, like community, taking care of our children correctly and education".[28] Bill Posters of the Brandalism project echoes his sentiment regarding the dominance held over our collective narrative by private interests:

"We have always seen culture as the spaces and places where society tells stories about itself. Every society has a space where these stories are told and in our culture it's advertising that dominates these spaces (both physical and digital). If we want to understand the messages that define (popular) culture then we have to look at the main storytellers. In our culture that is the storytellers that have the most money – the advertisers."[29]

Society both defines that story and is defined by it. The active shaping of our cultural values, and the dominance over that shaping by advertising, is an important part of subvertisers' objection to it. In a blog post that Jordan Seiler describes as a manifesto, he outlines why he thinks it's important to interrupt that dominance:

"I think it's important to question the monopolization of our public visual environment for commercial concerns and what that means for the determination of our collective social agenda. By privileging one type of message over another we are, through repetition, setting the terms of our cultural and political discourse. Considering the great hurdles we face socially and environmentally, the commercial discourse we surround ourselves with not only ignores our current reality but actively works against it by distracting us from each other in favor of ourselves."[30]

INTRINSIC VS EXTRINSIC

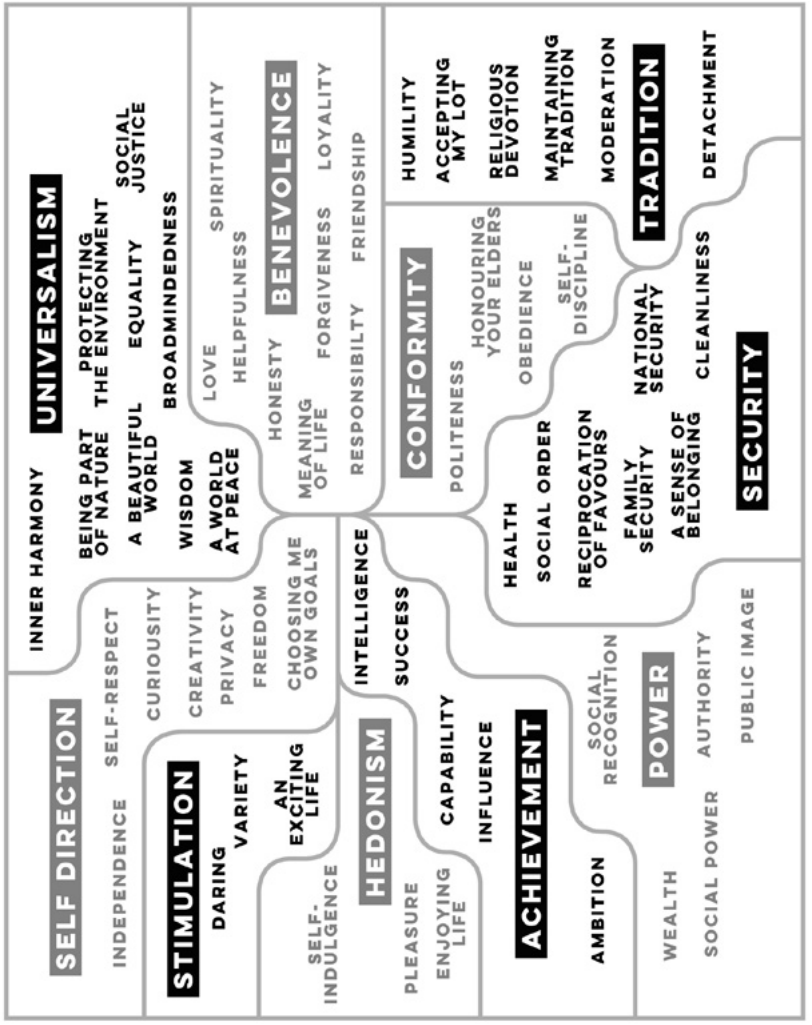
"Outdoor ads have become part of people's day-to-day urban wallpaper… and connect everyday ways of thinking to commercial imperatives"[31]

Anne Cronin

Subvertisers are not wrong to say that surrounding ourselves by commercial discourses has an important impact on our values. It's a claim that's supported by research into our collective values, and the implications of how advertising acts upon them.[32]

Sociologist Joseph Schwartz identified a number of values that occur consistently across different countries and cultures;[33] these collective values can be split into intrinsic and extrinsic categories (see diagrams overleaf). Values drive our behaviors, and studies have shown that placing greater importance on extrinsic values is associated with higher levels of prejudice, less concern about the environment and weak concern about human rights.[34]

It is perhaps not surprising that most advertising is designed to appeal to extrinsic values.[35] As subvertisers point out, that should be of concern to everyone who wants to promote something other than individualistic consumption. This is especially the case because an important feature of these values is that they work in opposition: if a person has strongly held extrinsic values, this will diminish their regard for intrinsic values, and vice-versa.[36]


SELF DIRECTION
INDEPENDENCE
SELF-RESPECT
CURIOUSITY
STIMULATION
DARING
VARIETY
AN EXCITING LIFE
SELF-INDULGENCE
HEDONISM
PLEASURE
ENJOYING LIFE
ACHIEVEMENT
AMBITION
CAPABILITY
INFLUENCE
POWER
WEALTH
SOCIAL POWER
AUTHORITY
PUBLIC IMAGE
SOCIAL RECOGNITION
SECURITY
NATIONAL SECURITY
CLEANLINESS
A SENSE OF BELONGING
FAMILY SECURITY
RECIPROCATION OF FAVOURS
SOCIAL ORDER
HEALTH
TRADITION
MODERATION
MAINTAINING TRADITION
RELIGIOUS DEVOTION
ACCEPTING MY LOT
HUMILITY
CONFORMITY
SELF-DISCIPLINE
OBEDIENCE
HONOURING YOUR ELDERS
POLITENESS
BENEVOLENCE
LOYALITY
FORGIVENESS
FRIENDSHIP
RESPONSIBILTY
MEANING OF LIFE
HONESTY
HELPFULNESS
SPIRITUALITY
LOVE
UNIVERSALISM
SOCIAL JUSTICE
EQUALITY
PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT
BROADMINDEDNESS
A BEAUTIFUL WORLD
BEING PART OF NATURE
A WORLD AT PEACE
WISDOM
INNER HARMONY
INTELLIGENCE
SUCCESS
CREATIVITY
PRIVACY
FREEDOM
CHOOSING ME OWN GOALS
DETACHMENT

INTRINSIC VALUES
AFFILIATION
To have satisfying relationships with family and friends.
SELF-ACCEPTANCE
To feel competent and autonomous.
COMMUNITY FEELING
To improve the world through activism or socially creative projects.
BENEVOLENCE
Preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the'in-group')
UNIVERSALISM
Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature

EXTRINSIC VALUES
CONFORMITY
To 'fit-in' with other people.
IMAGE
To look attractive to other people in terms of body and clothing.
FINANCIAL SUCCESS
To be wealthy and materially successful relative to others.
ACHIEVEMENT
Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.
POWER
Social status and prestige, control or dominance over other people and resources.

Not only do advertisements place an emphasis on extrinsic values, but by repeatedly activating those values, it serves to strengthen them. And we don't even need to be persuaded to buy the product: simply by seeing messages with extrinsic values emphasised, we can subconsciously buy into those values.[37] But it's important to note that everyone, everywhere holds all of these values to differing degrees; it's not that the values themselves are inherently good or bad, simply that they have an influence on our behavior.

Advertisers place the emphasis on extrinsic values: subvertisers want to pull the balance back towards the intrinsic.

The visual realm is a public realm.
It belongs to everyone, so no-one should be able to own it.
#AdvertisingShitsInYourHead
ADHACK MANIFESTO
BRANDALISTS FOR LONDON
PUBLIC SPACE MATTERS

4

RIGHTS TO THE CITY

"Under these conditions, ideals of urban identity, citizenship and belonging – already threatened by the spreading malaise of a neoliberal ethic – become much harder to sustain."[40]

David Harvey

WHO OWNS WHAT WE SEE?

Founder of the modern public relations industry, Edward Bernays, is by no means the only person to recognise that "the tendency of big business is to get bigger".[41] This is certainly true in the outdoor advertising industry, where a handful of companies now dominate the landscape. And this is true both in terms of the companies that own those spaces, but also in terms of the companies that can afford to occupy them.[42]

One member of the Special Patrol Group (SPG) tells a story about one of the first times they went out to do ad-takeovers on the London Underground. As they were slotting a subvert over the original ad in an ad-space, a commuter interjected and flustered at them: "You want arresting! Why don't you just pay for your advertising, like everyone else?" It serves to illustrate both the perceived

sanctity of the private nature of these public spaces – that anyone interfering with them should be arrested – and also the misconception that these spaces are somehow open to all.[43] The very reason the SPG were using subverts is because not everyone can afford to pay to occupy them.

A common stated motivation for the modern subvertising movement is the ubiquity of outdoor advertising and the monopoly held over public space by private interests.[44] The industry uses its ubiquity to sell outdoor advertising: the internet has broken the monopoly on people's attention that television used to hold, but the urban landscape is still a space through which everyone must inevitably traverse. Subvertisers want to reclaim that space for all.

PRIVATE PUBLIC SPACE

An important part of how this dominance has been achieved is through the private ownership of public provision – particularly public transport provision.[45] The advertisers have literally written their names on things that are supposed to belong to everyone. Capitol Outdoor boasts on its website: "Outdoor advertising […] incorporates your targeted branding message into the everyday landscape of commuters and becomes part of the very fabric of the living and working environment where it is placed."[46] Clear Channel Outdoor, too, are open about their motives: "When brands advertise on our street structures, they become part of the public social space, entering people's thoughts and conversations."[47]

The private ownership of public infrastructure is a worrying tendency, because it inevitably leads to provision based on potential for profit rather than public utility (or other non-economic notions) which, in turn, further cements the idea that only the profitable is imaginable on our city streets. The inverse corollary of this trend is the provision of useless street-furniture, the sole function of which is as a site of advertising. Jordan Seiler describes the pointless proliferation of public phone boxes in New York City:

> *"I think we have about 20,000 of them, which means 60,000 ads changing every month. They are simple to get into and it's just a ubiquitous form in NYC that people don't even use for their phone calls. They are just advertising venues at this point, because everybody has a cell phone."*[48]

One of the reasons private provision of public infrastructure may be tolerated is that the public imagines the cost is shouldered by the beneficent provider, which represents a saving to the public purse. But advertising spend increases the cost of the products advertised, and that cost is ultimately passed on to the consumer. There is no such thing as a free bench.[49]

RIGHTS TO THE CITY

> *"The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective*

power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights."[50]

David Harvey

The right to the city is a concept put forward by French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre, and later expanded by David Harvey. It can be summed up as the right to make and remake the spaces in which we live; it stands in opposition to corporate or state control of our environment.[51] The right to the city means the democratisation of all aspects of our lives within the urban sphere: labour, education, planning, etc. Subvertisers start from the aesthetic as a symbolic demand for complete control:

"We asked ourselves the question: what can we as a global network of citizens do to challenge the cultural pessimism arising from the power of consumerism? How can we facilitate the reclamation of our right to the city and the revolution of everyday life?"[52]

Almost all practioners talk about reclaiming public space.[53] Public space is a contested term, and it's questionable whether there has ever been a truly public space to which we can return; however, it may be possible to *create* a public space, and subvertisers have been vocal about what that might look like. This is one possible vision of a public space from Bill Posters:

"Public space is an arena in which no single authority should reign and multiple voices should be heard, so we started from a

profoundly democratic conviction that the public sphere is a place for communication, a place where people can speak, establish their presence, and assert their rights."[54]

Many subvertisers started out as individual artists in the street-art tradition, before realising that this too entails a question over democracy.[55] For this reason, an essential facet of the modern subvertising movement is an attempt to spread the practice in order to break the artists', as well as the advertisers', monopoly on public space:

"We are working together to position the citizen as narrator, and in the telling reveal to others how the city can become a playground, stage and instrument for unsanctioned artworks and activist interventions."[56]

PART TWO:

STRATEGIES FOR RESISTANCE

5
BANI-SHIT

One strategy to remove outdoor advertising from cities that has had some success is the localised, government-enacted ban. For this reason, the final point of Special Patrol Group's Ad Hack Manifesto makes the claim that outdoor advertising both can and should be banned.

Outdoor advertising bans certainly *can* happen, and there are a few precedents for them. In 2007, Sao Paulo enacted the Clean City Law, which designated outdoor adverts as a form of visual pollution. As a consequence, 15,000 billboards and over 300,000 oversized storefront signs were removed in under a year.[57] In 2015, Grenoble, France, became the first city in Europe to ban outdoor advertising, and 326 advertising spaces were replaced with community noticeboards and trees. The Mayor's office stated it was "taking the choice of freeing public space in Grenoble from advertising to develop areas for public expression"[58] (perhaps an explicit reference to the public's right to the city?).

To date, these have been the only city-wide outdoor advertising bans, though there have been other attempts to trim back the proliferation of outdoor advertising: in 2009, Chennai, India banned the erection of new billboards and there are also several US States where billboards are

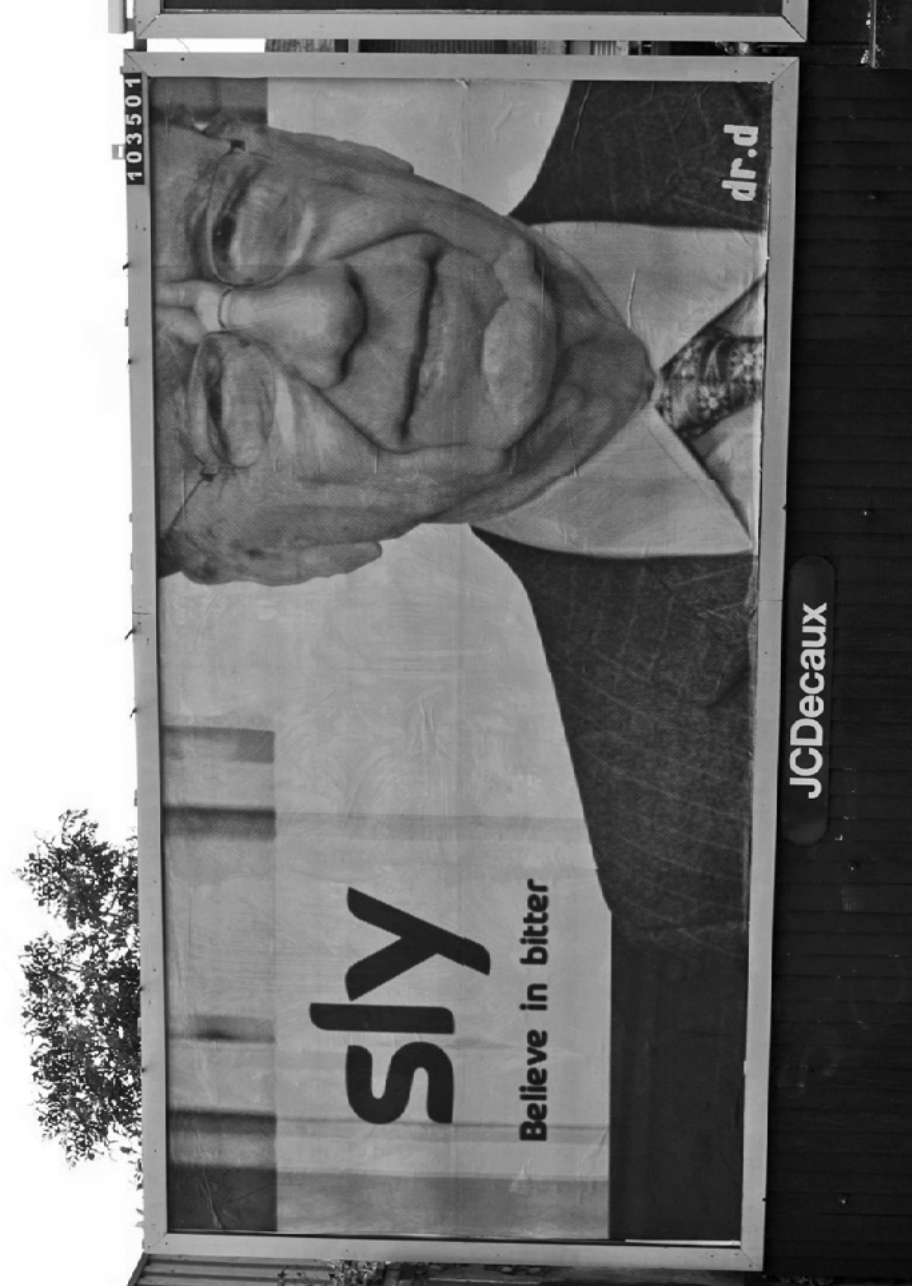
banned.[59] Paris planned to reduce the number of advertising hoardings by a third in 2011 and, in 2015, Tehran replaced all of its 1500 commercial billboards with art for ten days[60] (more than doubling Brandalism's largest citizen take-over to date – 600 bus stop ad spaces in Paris in November 2015).

Though at first glance it may appear that advertising bans are a positive step, academic Kurt Iveson questions the rationale for them: where activists may see their work as inherently anti-capitalist, he claims the cities that have introduced bans may be doing so in order to reassert the dominance of the state. He suggests a "ceremonial normative model of public space", which privileges civic order above private commercial interests, but also views the public as a passive audience for "ceremonial, monumental and architectural displays, which might exercise a civilising influence". Outdoor advertising bans are concerned with "the aesthetic integrity of the public realm... rather than its democratic accessibility."[61]

Some subvertisers, too, are wary of government bans. Rather than a city-wide ban on advertising, Jordan Seiler would prefer spaces to be available for all citizens to use: "this should be self-organised, you should just allow public messaging and scrawl on the streets. That's probably utopian, but I think a more viable solution would be to create places and structures that would support an open curation of some sort".[62] He also questions the motives behind the bans,[63] and points out that the ban in Sao Paulo has only been partial: at the same time as the Clean City Law

was introduced, the city signed a contract with JCDecaux to provide advertising-funded bus shelters. By eliminating the haphazard clutter of billboard advertising, it's entirely possible that the Clean City Law will benefit the companies that now hold a monopoly on the advertising infrastructure that is slowly being reintroduced in a "controlled manner". It eliminates the competition and means that a few big companies are once again allowed to dominate.

Of course, almost all governments are wedded to the capitalist system of production, so it seems unlikely they'll take the decision to ban advertising in order to quell consumption. For this reason, direct action remains a vital strategy against outdoor advertising.



6

SUBVERTISING

Subvertising is a portmanteau of subversion and advertising. It is a relatively modern term, but can be defined as any type of action that is taken to subvert advertising. This may range from improvised graffiti-style interventions, to the more co-ordinated campaigns of the modern era. Generally speaking, subverts either target the original adverts or the sites of outdoor advertising (or both).

Though it is difficult to say when exactly subvertising emerged as a form,[64] the history of organised outdoor advertising subversion dates back to at least the 1970s. In Australia, the B.U.G.A U.P. (Billboard-Utilising Graffitists Against Unhealthy Promotions) collective started taking direct action against tobacco advertising in 1973 (because, in their words, "someone had to do something about it!"[65]) and claim their work is one of the earliest forms of subvertising the world has seen.[66] Not long after, in 1977, the Billboard Liberation Front (BLF)[67] was formed in San Francisco, and began setting about making what they termed "improvements" to outdoor advertising, as well as encouraging others to do the same.[68] Both of these organisations still have websites that reflect on their history and give advice to potential practitioners.

The motivations for subvertising have traditionally been wide-ranging, from objections to individual products, to aesthetic considerations, to simple mischief. Though the strategies of altering, removing or reversing[69] outdoor advertising may remain largely the same, today's subvertisers are a more co-ordinated movement,[70] with a more connected vision:

> *"Today, the practice of subvertising is reaching novel heights. Collectives are starting to connect globally to form an ever-increasing force of resistance against the visual and mental implications of advertising. Initiatives such as Brandalism, Brigade Antipub and Plane Stupid are beginning to specifically address the connections between advertising, fossil fuels and climate change. Intervening into advertising spaces that usually celebrate consumption, they divert messages towards ones of anti-consumption."*[71]

DETOURNEMENT THIS

> *"The method is the most interesting part of Brandalism, since it's specifically designed to confuse the viewer a little. This is why the posters are usually playful, typically mimicking established designs. They are, I think, motivated by 1960s French Situationism – people who believed the culture, the "spectacle" of modern society needed to be attacked, and done in such a way that would wind up, rile, mimic, anger, confuse."*[72]

Subvertising is a distinct form of culture jamming, which can be seen as an attempt to "intervene in the visual landscape that shapes how we think";[73] as such, it has a direct link to the work of the Situationist International (SI).[74] In

a

341204
TOSAT

b

I have to stop
telling myself that
this will make me
feel better

c

d

e

f

New Scotland Yard
Clear Channel
RECKLESS
LAW-BREAKING
DEPRESSING
RACIST
VIOLENT
THUGS
TOTAL MURDERERS
HUMILIATING
INEFFECTIVE
DANGEROUS
SLIMEY
DECEPTIVE
OPPRESSIVE
ARROGANT
DIVISIVE
OPAQUE
CORRUPT
LIARS
JUMPED-UP
POWER-TRIPPING
PROFILING
FASCIST
INSTRUMENTS OF THE STATE
TERRIFYING
INTIMIDATING
ABUSIVE
PETTY
BARBARIC
PRICKS

g

Ganneron
54
JCDecaux

h

Aldwych
Somerset House
ClearChannel
DON'T VOTE
ENGAGE WITH POLITICS
#DONTVOTE

i

BETWEEN 2004 AND 2011
THE UK ARMED
GADDAFI'S LIBYA
INCLUDING IN 2010 THE LICENSING OF
£3
LION
WORTH OF ARMS EXPORTS BY THE UK GOVERNMENT
#stopDSEI

j

Advertising shits
in your head.
It is a form of visual and psychological pollution.
#AdvertisingShitsInYourHead
BRANDALISTS
FOR LONDON
Removing, replacing, and
advertising is not vandalism.
It is an act of tidying up that is
both legally and morally defensible.

k

ADVERTISEMENT

ON SALE NOW...

The tools that make any ad your own!*

Free demo in Store!

Visit the army tent today and buy the three specialist keys you need to open any bus billboard in the UK!

Hundreds of satisfied customers...

"Everyday my son waits for school at this bus stop and there's always an advert for junk food on it. I worry about him getting diabetes so I took out their poster and replaced it with one of his. It looks really good at night."
- Sam P. North London

*For novelty purposes only - not to be used to commit any form of damage or illegal activity.

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n

o

particular, subvertising can be conceptualised as a form of "detournement" – a rerouting or hijacking – a strategy that was pioneered by the SI.[75] This is true both in terms of the re-imagining of individual brands or adverts, but also in the hijacking of advertising spaces or "take-overs".

One way that subvertisers claim this form of detournement may work is by intervening in the visual landscape and puncturing the "existing regime of truth".[76] As described earlier, outdoor advertising is seen as untouchable: by both intervening in the physical space containing the advert and altering the message[77] to create a "displacement of an already-established disposition", subvertising can disrupt our habitual ways of thinking.[78]

AGAINST LIBERAL PRANKSTERS

A criticism of subvertising is that over-emphasising its potential effect may be naïve. As academic Richard Gilman-Opalsky points out:

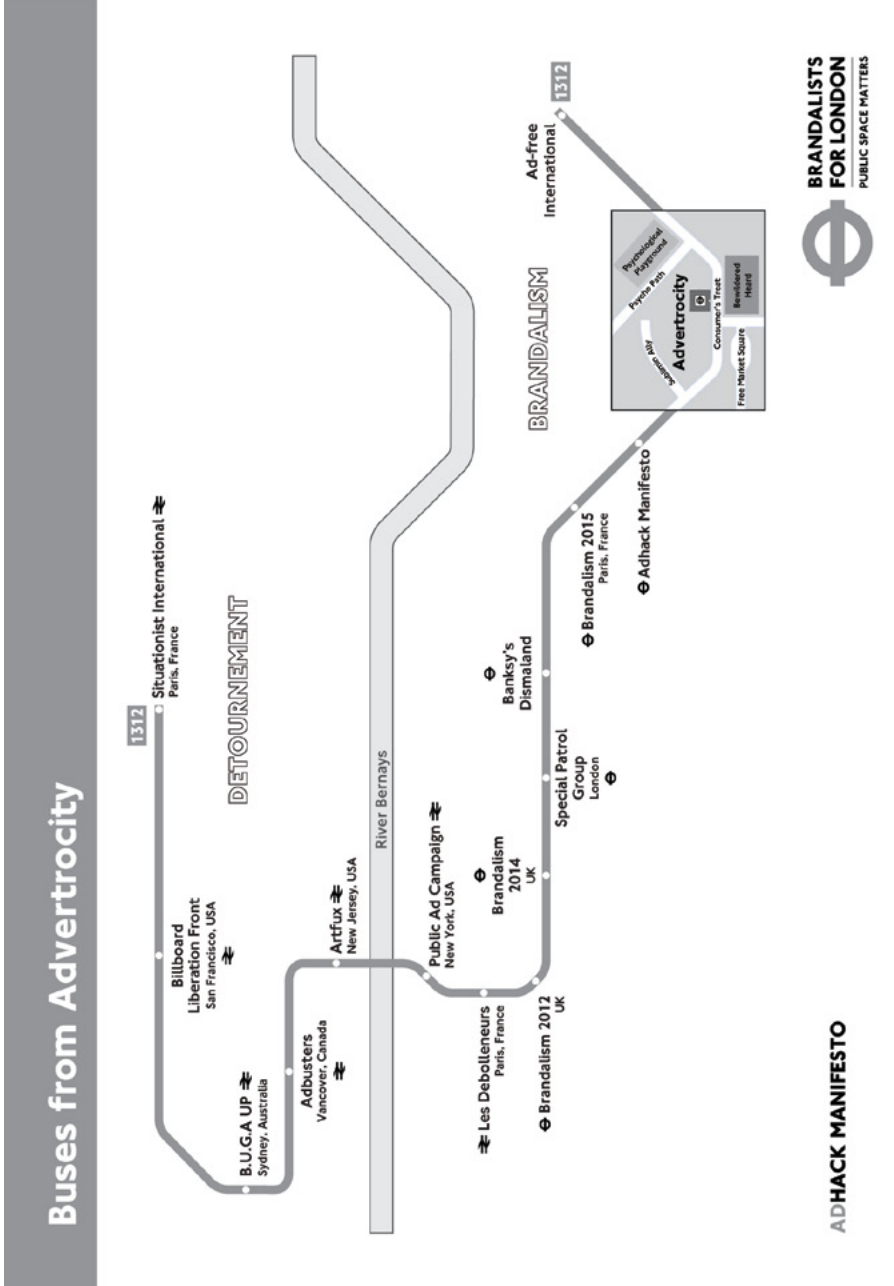
> *"Debord was well aware, in the 1950s and 60s, that something like sporadic 'subvertising' could never jam a culture of constant accumulation. Subvertising at its best is like a skip on a record that the needle passes over with a minor interruption."*[79]

It's possible that subverts may just be ignored, or subsumed into habitual ways of thinking; it's also true that just as advertising works on an emotional level and in a cumulative way, so must subvertising, which means it is likely to be most effective as part of a sustained campaign.[80]

Neither can subvertising be about reform if it is to be truly considered detournement, in the Debordian sense. Academic and author Catherine Flood claims that Adbusters "shifted the focus of graphic resistance from creating radical alternatives to mainstream design and advertising to exposing and attempting to reform its practices."[81] But the modern subvertising movement has moved beyond this position by returning to the original Debordian critique of the spectacle, which is suspicious of attempts at reforming the outdoor advertising industry:[82]

> *"One must not introduce reformist illusions about the spectacle, as if it could be eventually improved from within, ameliorated by its own specialists under the supposed control of a better-informed public opinion."*[83]

Where Adbusters took aim at individual brands and campaigns, even if this could be seen as part of a more systemic critique, it took aim from a relatively elevated position, and didn't attempt to pass the weapons around; those who aren't able to take part in the fight are necessarily relegated to the position of spectator.[84] This is why all of the subvertisers considered in the case studies (see page 71) attempt to spread the form.



7

YEAH, WE GOT KEYS FOR THAT

One of the things that makes modern subvertising practice stand out is the vigour with which its various proponents attempt to spread the form. Unlike other art-forms, there is nothing to be gained by retaining a monopoly on practice, and everything to be won by passing it around. Both Jordan Seiler and Bill Posters of Brandalism started out as individual artists, putting up their work in the street-art tradition; both have come to the realisation that, for interventions to be making a true claim to the rights of the city, it must be a practice that is open to all.

There can be a few obstacles to subvertising, which include: accessing the spaces, printing materials large enough, and practical instruction on how to install your artwork. Thanks to globalisation, many of these obstacles can be overcome on a global scale.

PRINTING

All outdoor advertising spaces worldwide are standardised sizes, so as long as you can get someone with a big enough printer, you get artwork printed in the correct sizes. At the time of writing, 6-sheets can be printed for about £6 (8 USD) and 12 printed 4-sheets for a 48-sheet billboard come

in at around £80 ($100). Prices vary depending on location but, by comparison, if you were to pay for a billboard via an outdoor advertising company, it would cost you around £500 ($600) a week per billboard, with a £2000 ($2400) minimum spend.

ACCESS KEYS

It is perhaps a measure of the perceived sanctity of the spaces adverts occupy that the majority of them are either completely unprotected or only protected by standard security locks, the keys for which can be easily found and purchased on the internet.

Both Brandalism and Special Patrol Group have put advice online on which access tools are required and where to find them. Special Patrol Group created an Ad Space Hack Pack that contains the three tools that they claim can access "up to a third of outdoor advertising spaces in the UK".[85] The packs were created for Banksy's Dismaland exhibition, where over 2000 sets were sold during its five week run.

Public Ad Campaign have been making what they call Public Access keys available since 2014.[86] Each of them is hand-made by artist-founder Jordan Seiler, who explains:

"The idea after NYSAT [New York Street Advertising Takeover] was, ok, I can't do enough damage on my own. I need to figure out projects and ways in which other people can do the work, because I just don't have enough time or resources to do

enough damage. And so Public Access really was about that."[87]

Currently there are 11 different sets available, and over 400 have been sold worldwide. All of the international key-lock combinations are displayed on the Public Access site and if followers spot a lock that cannot be opened by any of the Public Access keys currently available, they can send a picture of it to Jordan, who will attempt to create a key for it. Jordan uses the hashtag #YeahWeGotKeysForThat to collect images of subvertising installs that citizen-subvertisers have done using his tools.

The spaces on the London Underground are completely unprotected and activists can just place an advert over the top of the existing advert. This method had been used by Plane Stupid, Sisters Uncut and Special Patrol Group in the UK.[88] In July 2016, Belgian activists from TTIP Game Over put up around 700 designs on the Brussels metro system in this way.[89]

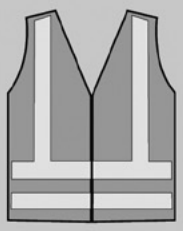
TRAINING

In addition to offering advice over access keys, Brandalism has created an online guide to installs.[90] It's available on their website, and also featured as a centre-page spread in STRIKE! Magazine (issue 7). Special Patrol Group also updated the design of this guide as a fold out leaflet that was distributed at Glastonbury 2016 (overleaf).

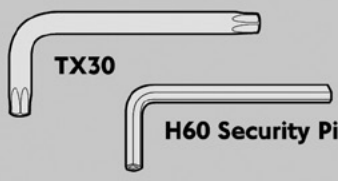
The first Brandalism campaign in 2012 was installed by just two members, but the second campaign in 2014 saw those two members passing on their knowledge to 60

How to hack into bus stop advertising spaces

What you will need

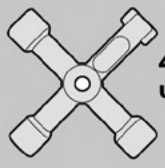


Hi Viz Vest

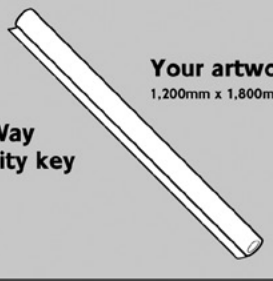


TX30

H60 Security Pin



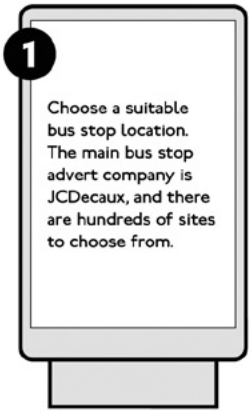
4-Way utility key



Your artwork
1,200mm x 1,800mm

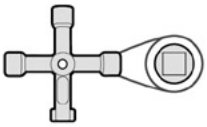
1

Choose a suitable bus stop location. The main bus stop advert company is JCDecaux, and there are hundreds of sites to choose from.



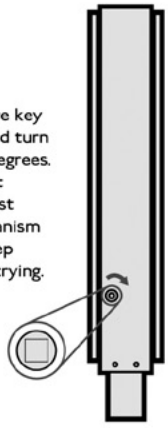
2

Select the 4-way utility key from the kit and locate the attachment that has a large square key shape. This will open the lock on the side of the advertisement shell.



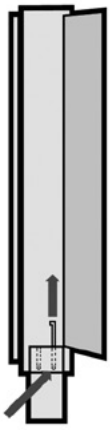
3

Insert the square key into the lock and turn clockwise 180 degrees. Don't worry if it doesn't open first time, the mechanism can be stiff. Keep calm and keep trying.



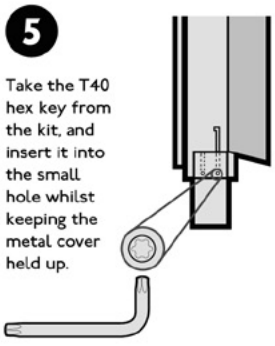
4

Once the side panel is open, insert one finger into the bottom of the casing and slide the metal cover up to reveal the next key hole.



5

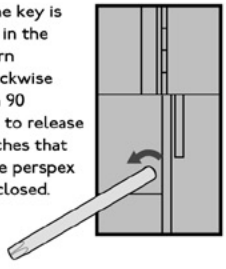
Take the T40 hex key from the kit, and insert it into the small hole whilst keeping the metal cover held up.



If installing at night time, turn the power breakers off inside the panel - just flick the switch down. You will feel less exposed with the backlight.

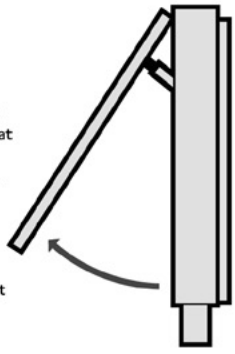
6

Once the key is located in the lock, turn anti-clockwise through 90 degrees to release the catches that keep the perspex screen closed.



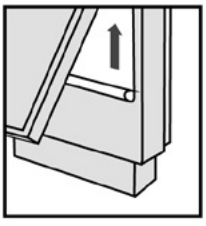
7

The perspex cover may have two pistions that open up when you release the catches. Make sure you keep hold of the bottom of the screen and let it rise slowly.



8

Roll up the poster that is inside from the bottom.



If the poster you are replacing has a blank reverse, you can re-use it for another installation; if not, you should recycle it.

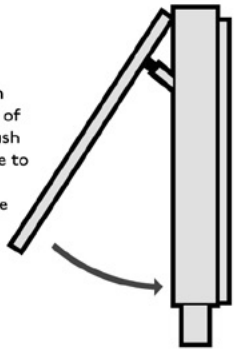
9

Slide your poster into the top of the panel, push it into the clip the runs across the top of the perspex. You may wish to pre-fold a 1cm edge on your posters, for an easier install. A credit card can also help with pushing the poster into the clip.

10

Put two hands on the bottom edge of the casing and push back to the frame to re-engage the catches, and close the door.

Then walk away; take your time; enjoy the experience.



BRANDALISTS FOR LONDON
PUBLIC SPACE MATTERS

activists from 10 different cities around the UK. For the campaign in Paris in 2015, training activists in the art of bus stop installs was again carried out beforehand.[91]

Members of Special Patrol Group were at Banksy's Dismaland and gave daily instructional demonstrations on how to access ad space cabinets with a demonstration cabinet they installed on site. As part of their 2015 Total Propaganda campaign, they created a training video that showed which tools to use, and how the posters were installed.[91] Members of the group also purchased a second-hand 6-sheet advertising display cabinet from Clear Channel; the cabinet has been installed on a long-loan basis to DIY Space for London and is used for training workshops that are open to the public.

Public Ad Campaign have recently put on a free training session in New York that introduced people to the history and theory of subvertising as well as giving them the practical skills to do their own work:

> *"This event starts by offering a brief historical and theoretical overview of the practice before sharing all the practical skills and knowledge required for undertaking your own advertising takeovers in New York. We'll bring in posters and painting materials to create our own adverts during the workshop. Come and join us!"*[93]

Jordan's previous campaigns have also been inclusive: his ad take-over projects involve up to 100 people hitting the streets and reclaiming ad spaces together, and anyone could get involved in the open call-outs.

AN IDIOT'S GUIDE TO BILLBOARD TAKEOVERS

BY DR D

A. Lingo

Know your terminology, amaze your friends. A billboard is also known as a 48-sheet as it is made up of 12 (60" x 40") sections. Each of the 12 sections is called a 4-sheet as they are 4 x double crowns (30" x 20") in size.

B. What's the point?

What is your billboard take over going to be, have you got a point or are you being decorative? Either way, show your idea to a friend. A typo on paper is one thing; a typo on a billboard just makes you look like a big wanker that can't spell. It's the difference between knowing your shit and knowing you're shit (I stole that line).

If you're printing your masterpiece go to C. If it's cutting one up go to D. People who paint go to E.

C. Size matters

The print size for a standard billboard is landscape 10ft x 20ft or 3m x 6m. If you get one printed online, you really want it printed on blue back paper. This paper requires pre-soaking in water before sticking and keeping it moist in a plastic bag is essential. The pre-soaking of blue back means it's easy to move and line up on the board and it

dries perfectly flat and professional-looking. Make sure you number each of the 12 sections on the top at the back and roll from the bottom up. Work from top left and have your ladder in the middle of the first two posters, that way you should be able to reach all the posters only moving your ladder to three positions.

Don't try and pre-soak any other paper, you'll just end up with paper-mache. If you know your printer, happy days: if not, be aware they can be like the Stasi. They have a code of conduct that means if they think what you're asking them to print is likely to cause offence they won't print it and obviously they now know what you're up to. I did have a printer once refuse to print an image of David Cameron's face, so the lines on what can be considered offensive are subjective.

D. Cut up jobs

If you have two billboard images you want to mash up together you can cut a section from one with a knife and peel off. Once away from the scene you can tease the paper you don't need from the back of the piece until it's thin enough to re-stick with paste onto another board. As it'll have the industry standard blue-backed paper it usually dries perfectly, hiding the fact you've added a bit. I did this with the first board I ever altered, moving "SU" from one board and sticking it onto another so "CLICKS" became "SUCKS", the whole phrase becoming "SUDDENLY EVERYTHING SUCKS".

E. Paint jobs

Do you need me to tell you to use something that won't run in the rain? Aerosol or acrylic or even exterior masonry paint will do you...

F. Getting on board

You'll be safest on a two-section ladder that you can put up to the top - rest the ladder brackets on the billboard for your comfort and reassurance. Remember: vandals don't bounce, so don't over stretch. Use a bucket for your paste hung from the ladder with an S hook; you'll need your hands for positioning your poster. You can get a bill poster's brush online; you could also use a soft bristle broom but if I see you I'll really mark you down on style for that. A fat wallpaper brush is just about use-able, but you're going to be up that ladder three times longer than you need to be – if you're only changing a bit of lettering or imagery it would work fine.

G. Timing is everything

Generally speaking, boards in busy cities are changed every two weeks. Out of town that might become every month. If you watch when they change you can figure out the best time to carry out your take-over. If you've been covered over and you find the board still wet you can peel off the poster you've been covered by. Do keep in mind the bill poster will now really want to kick your arse.

H. Caution!

Some boards have nothing on them as they've become dangerous. Quite often the wooden platforms become rotten and never get removed.

I. Legal bizzle

Technically speaking you're putting a poster on a site that is designed to have a poster on it, so legally you're not fly posting or criminally damaging it. If you cover every board in town week after week then someone will probably try and shut you down as you're losing them money. A one-off take-over they'll just cover you up, no problemo.

J. Sticking it to the man

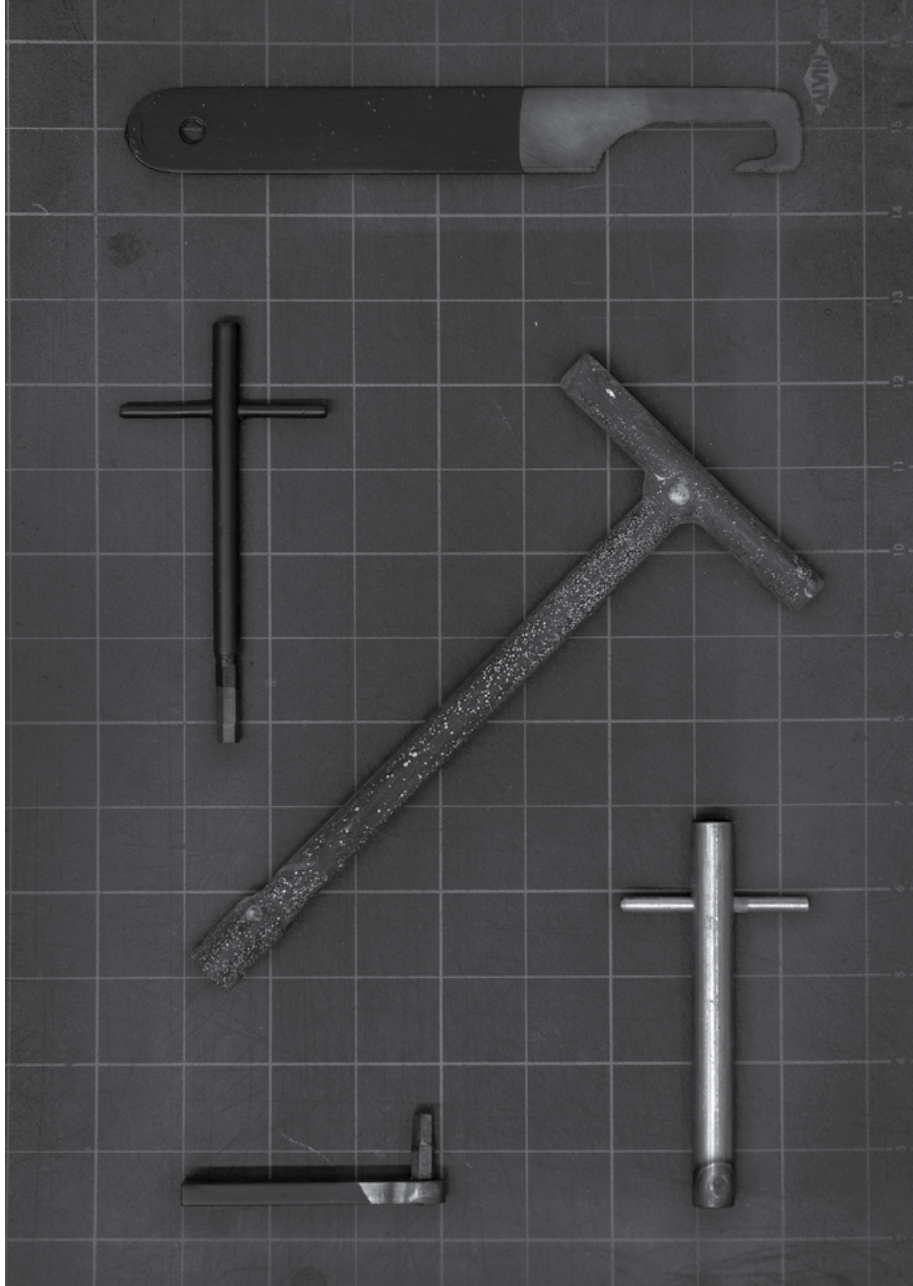
A bucket of hardware store wallpaper paste or some wheat paste will work fine.

K. Hide in plain sight

Orange is very much in vogue on the Outdoor Advertising scene – hi-viz jacket and trousers as standard. Why not accessorize with a hard hat, too? I have no idea why they make them wear these, I have thus far never been injured by falling paper. Going by the book, you should wear a harness that attaches you to the ladder.

L. Skin jobs

Not just the enemy in Blade Runner. Check that the board you want to paste on to isn't a "skin". They are a type of plastic, various types are in use, and you can't paste on to these boards, but you can use some spray mount or carpet adhesive spray.



8

LEGAL DEFENCE

"Any advert in a public space that gives you no choice whether you see it or not is yours. It's yours to take, rearrange and re-use. You can do whatever you like with it. Asking for permission is like asking to keep a rock someone just threw at your head..."[94]

Banksy/Tejaratchi

In the UK, subvertising potentially carries a charge of criminal damage. For some subvertisers, the best strategy where the law's concerned is to avoid being caught in the act, and to act anonymously. Brandalism and Special Patrol Group take precaution against arousing suspicion by wearing the "international cloak of invisibility known as hi-viz".[95] As an anonymous member of the SPG told the New Statesman:

> *"Nobody in our group has ever been caught because it is absurdly difficult to get caught doing something that is usually someone's job – even when you're putting up posters about deaths in custody, bearing the ACAB slogan, outside the HQ of the British Police Force (twice)."*[96]

Others are more open. Jordan Seiler of Public Ad Campaign views his work as civil disobedience and, as such, says it's important to be able to claim your actions. In the US the charge for subvertising is "possession of graffiti

materials"; Jordan has himself been arrested doing ad-take-overs, and nine volunteers were arrested taking part in his NYSAT project, spending a total of 310 hours in jail collectively.[97] Part of the tradition of civil disobedience is "acting as though you're already free"[98] and it is in this spirit that Jordan considers the law:

> *"I don't think of what I do as illegal, I think it's a valid form of protest. It is technically illegal, but not all laws are just. There's a history of property disobedience and violence against property, that's accepted because property's not a person, but because in a capitalist system we privilege property so heavily, it's taken seriously."*[99]

In France, subvertising group Les Deboulonneurs[100] use the tactic of deliberately getting arrested for their actions in order to have a conversation about the harms caused by advertising in court. They use the defence of necessity, claiming that their actions are necessary, and therefore lawful, because they prevent a greater crime. Traditionally it has been dismissed in court, but on 25 March 2014 a French judge agreed that their actions were indeed lawful and acquitted the group of all charges.[101] For this reason, 25 March has been declared an international day of action against advertising by interntational subvertising groups.

London-based subvertisers Agit Art Works produced what they say is a "get-out-of-jail free card",[102] based on the justification defence of lawful excuse. They point out that the intent of the act is what defines criminal damage, not the act itself – so if it is your honestly held belief that your

action is preventing a greater crime, it should be lawful. It should be noted that when this defence was tested recently by Plane Stupid activists in the UK, who had hijacked a billboard with a protest message about the third runway at Heathrow, it failed.

Further potential for legal action comes from the companies that subvertising attacks, whether that's the brands that are subverted or the owners of outdoor advertising sites. In July 2016, 700 adverts on the Brussels metro system were replaced with subverts bearing protest messages (against TTIP, the Transatlantic Trade Investment Partnership); the group that claimed the action – TTIP Game Over – was subject to a joint police complaint by the company that runs the metro system (STIB) and the owners of the advertising sites, JCDecaux;[103] however, the police decided no further action was necessary.

Taking legal action also has the potential to back-fire: a recent article in the Oxford Journal of Intellectual Property claimed that, outside of subvertisers being caught in the act, there is minimal legal protection against subvertising. The authors point to a judicial trend towards affording greater protection to freedom of speech, as well as an expansion of what can be considered parody and fair-usage. Additionally, the cost of bad publicity stemming from prosecution could be too high:

> *"Brandalism may well be a huge annoyance to brand executives who see their corporate message hijacked. In-house counsel and external advisers may find themselves pressured to act in a fast*

and firm manner, given embarrassment and perhaps anger at executive or board level. There are certainly legal tools that can be evaluated; however, there are clear signs that the law is evolving towards greater protection of freedom of speech, which should give brands pause for thought. The general development in recent years towards elevating citizens' rights around social commentary and parody above the intellectual property rights that are subject to them puts brand owners in a difficult legal position. Beyond the legal strictures, there are likely enormous practical difficulties in securing a remedy and is, above all, a real risk that ill-conceived or knee-jerk responses will only make the situation worse."[104]

The legality of subvertising seems, currently, to be something of a grey area; what's clear is that subvertisers see their actions as morally defensible, regardless of the legal position.

People
are taking the
piss out of you
everyday.
They butt into your life, take a cheap shot at you and then disappear. They leer at you from tall buildings and make you feel small. They make flippant comments from buses that imply you're not sexy enough and that all the fun is happening somewhere else. They are on TV making your girlfriend feel inadequate. They have access to the most sophisticated technology the world has ever seen and they bully you with it. They are
The Advertisers
and they are laughing at you. You, however, are forbidden to touch them. Trademarks, intellectual property rights and copyright law mean advertisers can say what they like wherever they like with total impunity.
Fuck That.
Any advert in a public space that gives you no choice whether you see it or not is yours. It's yours to take, re-arrange and re-use. You can do whatever you like with it. Asking for permission is like asking to keep a rock someone just threw at your head. You owe the companies nothing. Less than nothing, you especially don't owe them any courtesy. They owe you. They have re-arranged the world to put themselves in front of you. They never asked for your permission, don't even start asking for theirs.
Banksy

CASE STUDIES

PUBLIC AD CAMPAIGN

Jordan Seiler began subvertising at art school: after being challenged by a teacher that he probably wouldn't take-over all of the ad spaces in a subway station for his thesis, that's exactly what he did. His practice grew from there, as he took on more and more ambitious take-overs – including the world's first international outdoor ad take-over. He sees himself as more of an artist than an activist and claims he lacks traditional "political ambition"; however, he also says that he considers good art "to be activist".[105]

Jordan works with black and white geometric shapes, which – although aesthetically considered – deliberately avoid using a slick commercial advertising design aesthetic.[106] His black and white installs are as far removed from adverts as possible, without just looking like empty spaces (which they would be if they were just black or just white). In addition to his collective projects (below), Jordan still performs independent installs in his native New York, as well as internationally.

Unlike some other subvertisers, Jordan does not carry out his work anonymously and says it's important that he claims ownership of his output. Starting out in the street art tradition, he called the project Public Ad Campaign as a pseudonym, but has since been more open about his identity as "it's

important to identify with your demands, to own them. Rosa Parks would not have been Rosa Parks as Anonymous."[107]

NYSAT (2009)

New York Street Advertising Takeover (NYSAT) was the first time Jordan decided to expand his personal subvertising practice to get more people involved. Targeting a company in New York City that exclusively used illegal advertising spaces meant that it was relatively easy to get citizens involved, and Jordan credits "the hard work and dedication of over a 100 artists, activists, photographers, videographers, lawyers, mothers, fathers, students, teachers, and public citizens."[108]

The action took the form of citizens white-washing the illegal ad spaces; this removed the adverts and created a blank canvas, which many artists then filled with their work. It also garnered media attention, from outlets including the New York Times, the Economist, Adbusters and street art magazine Juxtapoz.

TOSAT (2010)

The Toronto Street Advertising Takeover (TOSAT) was the first international street ad take-over project.[109] Rather than simply painting over illegal fly-posting, this time the project accessed legal spaces – Pattison Outdoor Core Media Pillars – and replaced their adverts with posters. 60 artists were invited to submit artwork and over 90 media pillars had

their adverts replaced, as well as 20 billboards. A team of local volunteers was recruited to perform the installs and information on how to access the spaces – using an ordinary household doorknob – was made available on the TOSAT mini-site. The action was featured in local Toronto news and internationally via street art sites Juxtapoz and Vandalog.

MASAT (2011)

Madrid Street Advertising Takeover (MASAT) was Jordan's second international ad take-over campaign.[110] This time, instead of using artworks, contributors were asked to provide text-based submissions, which opened up the process to "a wide range of individuals including sociologists, teachers, lawyers, gallery owners and anyone with a concern for the curation and participation in public space". In total, 106 different text-based designs were submitted and installed.

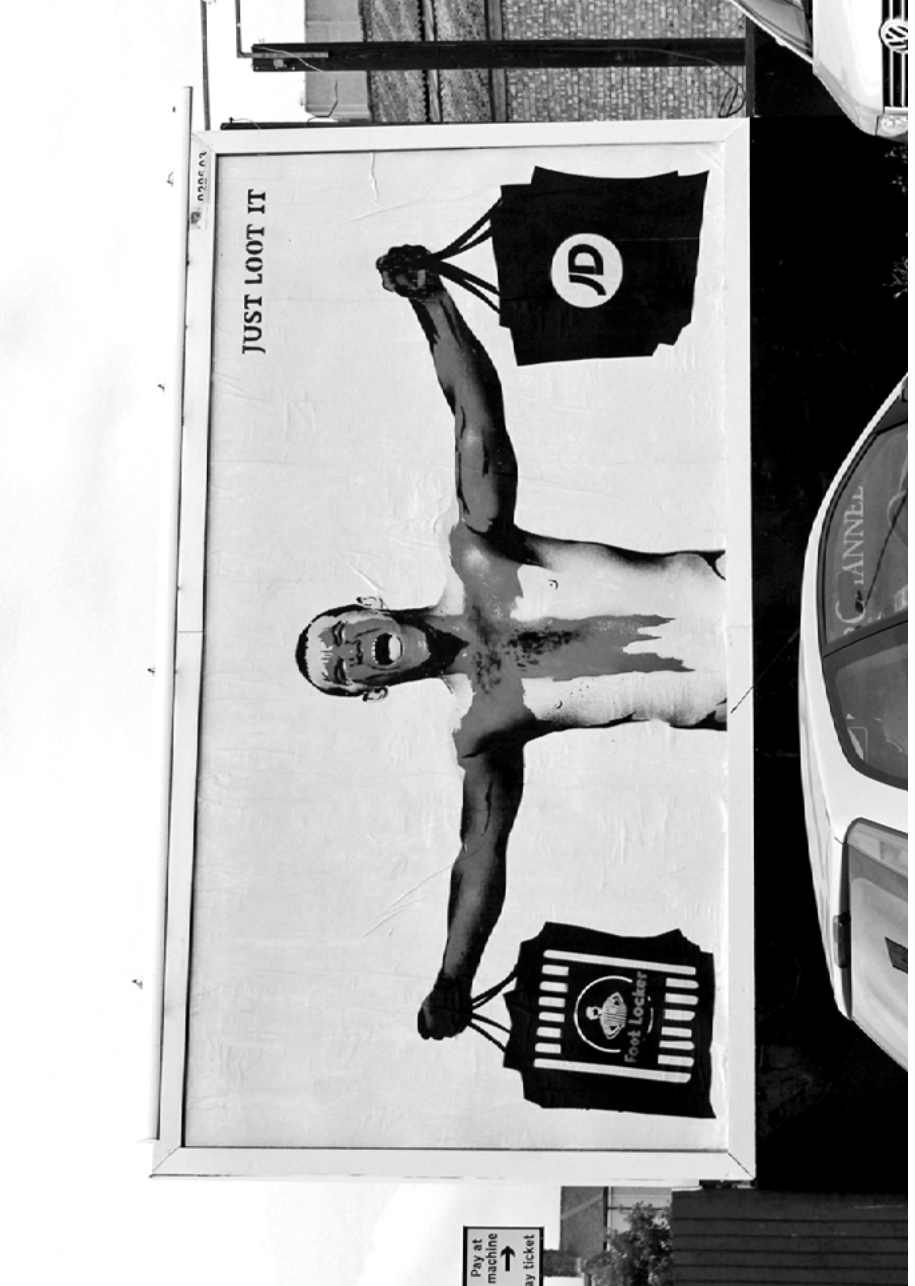
PUBLIC ACCESS KEYS

Jordan had been working with public telephone spaces in New York that aren't secured, so didn't initially have any need of access tools. But when he visited Madrid for the MASAT project, he met fellow subvertiser Vermibus, who had replicated an original JCDecaux key. This planted the idea that manufacturing access keys could be done; later he figured out how to replicate them in his workshop at home.[111]

There are 11 different keys available and Jordan's sold around 400 sets of access keys to date. If someone spots a

lock that doesn't currently have a key, they can send a photo to Jordan who will try to replicate it for them and then make it available online. Jordan says that the Public Access Project aims to:

> *"...reverse this one-way communication by providing access to municipal infrastructure for public dialogues. Artists and individuals can treat the tools offered through this site as functional sculptures to interject their thoughts into our shared public spaces."*[112]



BRANDALISM

Bill Posters started his art-life as a graffiti writer, painting on roofs, trains and walls as part of a graffiti crew while at university. After becoming more politicised by the Iraq War, he ended up writing his dissertation on culture jamming, referencing Lefebvre, Klein and the Situationists, and says this acted as the "anti-business plan" for what became Brandalism.[113]

The first Brandalism project in 2012 had billboards and consumerism as its target, and saw Bill recruit a friend (who is still part of the anonymous Brandalism crew) to help with the installs. Though the billboards caught the attention of much mainstream media, including a four-minute segment for Channel 4's Random Acts, the billboard twosome quickly realised that they were "just two blokes in a van".[114] Since then, their focus has been on empowering others to take their own actions, and every campaign since has seen more and more volunteers involved.[115]

Bill Posters sees the work of Brandalism – replacing adverts with art – as a gift.[116] Unlike advertising, it demands nothing of the viewer, and can be viewed as a two way interaction. Internationally acclaimed artists have featured in the Brandalism projects – Peter Kennard, Gee Vaucher, Robert Montgomery – but on the street they're presented as anonymous.

BRANDALISM 2012 – THE BILLBOARD

The first Brandalism project happened in July 2012, across five major cities. Two installers pasted up 36 large format billboards (48-sheets) with original work from 28 international artists. The project was deliberately timed to coincide with the "protective brand-mania that characterised the London Olympics"[117] and as such gained international media attention, provoking "a discussion about the legitimacy of outdoor advertising spaces that we are forced to interact with".[118]

BRANDALISM 2014 – THE 6-SHEET

After realising there were still questions over the democracy of the project, Brandalism prepared for round two with a three day training course on both the theory and practice of subvertising. Ten "crews" from all over the UK attended and helped to select which artworks would be installed on the streets by a process of consensus decision making.

Over two days, 365 artworks were installed in bus stop advertising panels in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Brighton, Bristol, Oxford and London. The installs again included work from internationally acclaimed artists, but were anonymised.

107201
SISTERS UNCUT
HACKNEY COUNCIL HAS LISTENED TO OUR DEMANDS AND HAS PROMISED TO:
FILL ALL EMPTY HOMES IN HACKNEY BY SEPTEMBER 2017
#NowhereToGo
#KeepingPromises
STOP USING PRIVATE HOSTELS AND B&BS FOR DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SURVIVORS
PROVIDE SPECIALIST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE TRAINING FOR ALL HOSTEL STAFF
@SISTERSUNCUT
JCDecaux

b

Oxford Circus 12
SAFE AND SECURE COUNCIL HOMES FOR PEOPLE FLEEING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
/SELDNSISTERSUNCUT
@SELSISTERSUNCUT

c

JCDecaux
Illustre Feccia
Subvarishing Crew
The State is founded on the slavery of work
If the work become free, the State will be lost.
Max Stirner

d

Payday
Loans
4 Kids
Get an advance on your POCKET MONEY today!
Only 5000% APR
853% cheaper
than wonga.com
POCKETMONEYLOANS.COM

e

Euston Station
JCDecaux
ANY NEW RUNWAY IS PLANE STUPID
SUPPORT THE HEATHROW 13
24TH FEBRUARY
WILLESDEN MAGISTRATES COURT 9AM
#HEATHROW13
@PLANESTUPID

f

Temple
JCDecaux
NO PRIDE IN WAR
RED ARROWS NOT WELCOME AT PRIDE

g

APARTHEID
IS
GREAT
BRITAIN
#IsraeliApartheidWeek
BRITISH-MADE ARMS WERE USED BY ISRAEL TO MASSACRE PALESTINIANS IN GAZA IN 2014. OVER 100 UK COMPANIES CONTINUE TO SUPPLY MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO ISRAEL. THEY DIRECTLY PROFIT FROM ISRAELI APARTHEID AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE MILITARISED COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT OF PALESTINIANS.

h

Important announcement
#stopDSEI
Travelling on the DLR from 15th to 18th September?
This September, a swarm of arms dealers will be descending on the DLR. Travelling to The ExCeL Centre to attend DSEI, the world's biggest Arms Fair. These visitors make huge amounts of money from weapons and equipment that kill people in wars all over the world. Your taxes help pay for it. Customers are requested to help stop the arms fair.
WARLORDS OF LONDON
EXCEL LONDON
DLR
UNDERGROUND
TRANSPORT FOR LONDON
EVERY JOURNEY MATTERS
MAYOR OF LONDON
TRANSPORT FOR LONDON

i

RESIST
IMMIGRATION
RAIDS
ANTI RAIDS NETWORK
Mon - Sat
7 am - 7 pm
QUEEN ROAD

j

30 000
PEOPLE
DETAINED
WITH
NO
CHARGE
#NoBorders
#EmptyAirCages
#ShutThemDown
#SubvertisingBeasts
JCDecaux

k

JCDecaux
COMING SOON TO A USELESS EMPTY BUILDING NEAR YOU
THE REALITY SHOW WHERE YOU GET TO STEAL FROM THE LANDLORDS
SQUAT THE LOT
FIND MORE ABOUT HOW TO CRACK PROPERTIES, BUILD BARRICADES
FUCK OFF THE BAILIFFS AND COLLAPSE THE HOUSING MARKET
AT PRACTICAL SQUATTING
JCDecaux
COMING SOON TO A USELESS EMPTY BUILDING NEAR YOU
THE REALITY SHOW WHERE YOU GET TO STEAL FROM THE LANDLORDS
SQUAT THE LOT
FIND MORE ABOUT HOW TO CRACK PROPERTIES, BUILD BARRICADES
FUCK OFF THE BAILIFFS AND COLLAPSE THE HOUSING MARKET
AT PRACTICAL SQUATTING

NEIGHBOURHOOD WITCH
BEASTS OF SUBVERTISING
JCDecaux

114
STROUTS PLACE
RECKLESS LAW-BREAKING DEPRESSING VIOLENT
HUMILIATING RACIST MURDERERS
THUGS LIARS
ARROGANT CORRUPT
DIVISIVE DANGEROUS
SLIMEY DECEPTIVE
OPAQUE JUMPED-UP
OPPRESSIVE
PROFILING
INSTRUMENTS OF THE STATE
FACIST
TERRIFYING
BAR BARLE TRICKS
INTIMIDATING
BULLYING SMUG
ABUSIVE PETTY
MORONIC
LONDONS BIGGEST
GANG
TOTAL CUNTS
JCDecaux

n

011401
ACAB
JCDecaux

o

BRANDALISM 2015 – PARIS COP21

The Paris project was in support of protests against the COP 21 climate conference and attempted to make the connection between advertising, consumerism and environmental destruction explicit. In particular, the project took issue with what they saw as "greenwashing" of the climate talks:

> *"Increasingly, these talks are dominated by corporate interests. This year's talks in Paris are being held at an airport and sponsored by an airline. Other major polluters include energy companies, car manufacturers and banks. Brandalism aims to creatively expose this corporate greenwashing."*[19]

The Brandalism crew – numbering six British operatives – were in Paris for two weeks leading up to the day of the action, in a squatted warehouse turned print-studio, printing the 600 posters that would eventually be installed. During this time they also made tools for accessing Parisian bus stop cabinets and trained local teams in the art of installs. Despite Paris being under a state of emergency because of recent terror attacks, which meant that all street protests had been banned, Brandalism pulled off their biggest take-over to date and garnered international mainstream attention for their efforts.

SWITCH SIDES

An annual day of international action against advertising (25 March) was called in 2016 by French subvertising group RAP. In response Brandalism created their Switch Sides campaign. Posters were designed that specifically addressed workers from advertising agencies Ogilvy Mather, ABDO and WMT and were installed outside their offices in Manchester and London. A link was printed on the posters that took users back to the Brandalism site and a short article explaining why they thought that people who work in the industry ought to switch sides:

> *"We installed those designs in Manchester and London to start a conversation with you. Congratulations on making into one of the country's top advertising agencies. We were triggered by a particular concern: that your talent, energy and creativity is sinking into an ever-expanding black hole.*
>
> *Your creativity could mean so much more."*[120]

The campaign was featured in several ad-industry news outlets, and Brandalism has recently put on its first Advertisers Anonymous event, designed to be an outlet and a vehicle for those who want to leave the industry.

JCDecaux
We're sorry that we got caught.
Now that we've been caught, we're trying to make you think we care about the environment. But we're not the only ones. #redlines #D12 #ClimateGames
Das Auto.

SPECIAL PATROL GROUP

Special Patrol Group (SPG) are thought to be a shadowy, militant wing of STRIKE! Magazine. They are named after the now disbanded police unit that was notoriously responsible for the death of activist Blair Peach and their first actions were taken against the Metropolitan Police Force.

Based in London, England, their early work was centred around taking designs from STRIKE!'s pages and installing them in bus stop six-sheet spaces, billboards and London Underground ad spaces. In 2015 they were part of Banksy's Dismaland exhibition, where they gave demonstrations in bus stop hacking and also made their Ad Space Hack Pack available.

More recently they've been been designing and installing subverts on behalf of other campaigns – including Netpol, the Heathrow 13 climate group and Veterans for Peace.

TOTAL PROPAGANDA

The first campaign by the Special Patrol Group was an action taken against the propaganda of the Metropolitan Police Force's "Confidence Campaign" – a hyper-localised poster marketing campaign in "areas with low confidence in the police". On 12 December 2014, three designs were installed in around 30 sites in London –

including outside New Scotland Yard, headquarters of the British Police Force – mimicking the police's own posters, but with more honest messaging. The tagline was Total Propaganda, a subversion of the Met's Total Policing slogan. The designs highlighted: institutional racism; the killing of Mark Duggan; and unfair cannabis laws. The bus stop installs went viral and were featured by several major news outlets.

The Met did another round of confidence campaign posters in spring 2015, and the SPG again responded with their own campaign. This time they focussed on deaths in custody, police corruption and the amount of public money the Met spent on their own campaigns:

> *"The Metropolitan Police Force spend ridiculous sums of our money trying to convince us – and themselves – that they're not violent, racist and corrupt. In 2012 it was £12.6m and in 2013 it was £9.3 – in two weeks alone last year they wasted nearly half a million pounds of public money on pointless poster campaigns."*[121]

For both campaigns, downloadable versions of the design were made available through STRIKE! Magazine's blog, in an attempt to help people inspired by the campaign do their own subvertising.[122]

BULLSHIT JOBS

On the first day back to work after the Christmas break for most - 2nd January (2015) - quotes from David Graeber's article 'On the Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs' – which

questioned the nature of work under capitalism – were inserted over regular ads on the London Underground system. The installs went viral and were covered by several news outlets, including Russia Today who interviewed David Graeber about his article.[123] This follows a trend of linking their subvertisements back to articles or theory that explain the SPG's actions.

DON'T VOTE!

Two weeks before the 2015 UK General Election, the Special Patrol Group – whose work is informed by anarchist theory – installed designs questioning the voting system in bus stops around London. The three designs read: Don't Vote: Engage With Politics!; Don't Vote: Spoil Your Ballot!; and Don't Vote: Take to the Streets! The posters featured a url that links to a page debunking the voting system and giving reasons why citizens should boycott it. An anonymous member of the Special Patrol Group gave an interview explaining the action to Huck Magazine.[124]

DISMALAND & DSEI

The Special Patrol Group were invited to be part of Banksy's Dismaland exhibition. On site they gave tutorials in subvertising to visitors, using a bus stop ad-cabinet that had been installed for this purpose. They also made available the Ad Space Hack Pack (for £6), which included a H60 Allen Key, a T30 Security Torx and a 4-Way Utility Key, as

well as a guide on how to use them (originally designed by Brandalism). Over 2000 sets were sold during Dismaland's five week run.

During the course of Dismaland, the Defence and Security Equipment International (DSEI) exhibition – an arms fair that is widely protested every year – happened at the Excel Centre. Artists from Dismaland – Darren Cullen, Matt Bonner, STRIKE! Magazine and Barnbrook Studio – created designs that were installed in bus stops around London and on London Underground advertising spaces. Over 300 designs were installed and the action was featured by several major news outlets.[125]

GLASTONBURY 2016

Special Patrol Group were invited by Shangri-La to be part of Glastonbury Festival. An advertising cabinet was brought on site as part of a bus stop installation, which featured subverted brand designs claiming "Advertising Shits in Your Head".[126] The group also used the festival to launch their international Ad Hack Manifesto. When Glastonbury ended, the group installed the cabinet in DIY Space for London where it is used for training others in the art of bus stop hacking.

#ADHACKMANIFESTO
1. ADVERTISING
SHITS IN YOUR HEAD
IT IS A FORM OF VISUAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL POLLUTION.
2. REMOVING/REPLACING/DEFACING ADVERTISING
IS NOT VANDALISM
IT IS AN ACT OF TIDYING UP THAT IS BOTH LEGALLY & MORALLY DEFENSIBLE.
3. THE VISUAL REALM IS A
PUBLIC REALM
IT IS PART OF THE COMMONS
IT BELONGS TO EVERYONE. SO NO-ONE SHOULD BE ABLE TO OWN IT.
4. OUTDOOR ADVERTISING
CAN AND SHOULD BE
BANNED
SAO PAULO DID IT IN 2007. & GRENOBLE FOLLOWED SUIT IN 2015.

APPENDIX

INTERNATIONAL SUBVERTISING GROUPS

Proyecto Squatters
Argentina
proyectosquatters.blogspot.co.uk

Brigade Anti-Pub
France
bap.propagande.org

Les Deboulonneurs
France
deboulonneurs.org

Resistance à l'Agression Publicitaire (RAP)
France
antipub.org

Dies Irae
Germany
bit.ly/Dies-Irae

Vermibus
Germany
vermibus.com

ConsumeHastaMorir
Spain
letra.org/spip

Brandalism
UK
brandalism.org.uk

Special Patrol Group
UK
@specialpatrols

Public Ad Campaign
US
publicadcampaign.com

PHOTO CREDITS

PART ONE: ADVERTISING SHITS IN YOUR HEAD

Total Propaganda *p.10*
Poster from Special Patrol Group's Total Propganda campaign. Photo credit: SPG, 2015.

Petrol Head *p.15*
6-sheet from Brandalism's 2015 Paris COP 21 action. Artist: Bill Posters. Photo credit: Brandalism, 2015.

Here Comes Everybody *p.17*
Billboard from Brandalism's 2012 action. Artist: Robert Montgomery. Photo credit: Brandalism, 2012.

Advertising Shits In Your Head *p.18*
TfL subverted Ad Hack Manifesto poster.
Artist: Special Patrol Group, 2016.

Your Eyes Read This Silently *p.21*
Poster from Brandalism's 2014 6-Sheet action.
Photo credit: Brandalism, 2014.

Bullshit Jobs *p.25*
Featuring a quote from David Graeber's STRIKE! Magazine article On the Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs. Photo credit: SPG, 2014.

This Is The Best Way *p.26*
New York billboard takeover. Artist: Robert Montgomery. Photo credit: Robert Montgomery, 2009.

Values *p.30*
Diagram showing Schwartz's universal values.
Credit: Public Interest Research Centre (PIRC), 2016. Values, Framing and Advertising

Intrinsic vs Extrinsic Values *p.31*
Diagram showing intrinsic and extrinsic values in opposition.
Credit: Alexander, J; Crompton, T; Shrubsole, G, 2011. Think of me as Evil? Opening the Ethical Debates in Advertising

Movie Stars or War *p.33*
Artist: Robert Montgomery.
Photo credit: Robert Montgomery, 2009.

The Visual Realm is a Public Realm *p.34*
TfL subverted Ad Hack Manifesto poster.
Artist: Special Patrol Group, 2016.

PART TWO: STRATEGIES FOR RESISTANCE

Outdoor Advertising Should Be Banned *p.42*
TfL subverted Ad Hack Manifesto poster.
Artist: Special Patrol Group, 2016.

Sly TV *p.46*
Artist: Dr. D. Photo credit: Dr. D, 2016.

Subvertising Timeline *p.51*
Subverted Transport for London bus route design showing subvertising history. Artist: SPG, 2016.

Dismaland Demonstration *p.52*
An anonymous SPG operative gives a subvertising demonstration at Dismaland. Photo credit: Scarlett Brown, 2015.

How to Hack into Bus Stop Advertising Spaces *p.56*
Guide to hacking bus stop spaces, subverted TfL design.
Artist: SPG, 2016.

Yeah, We Got Keys For That *p.63*
Public Access Campaign keys. Photo credit: Jordan Seiler, 2016

Not Vandalism *p.64*
TfL subverted Ad Hack Manifesto poster.
Artist: Special Patrol Group, 2016.

Fuck That *p.69*
Based on a quote attributed to Sean Tejaratchi and Banksy.
Artist unknown.

CASE STUDIES

Presse *p.72*
Jordan Seiler, Collisions series, Paris. Photo credit: Jordan Seiler

Musik *p.77*
Jordan Seiler, Collisions series. Photo credit: Jordan Seiler

Just Loot It *p.78*
Billboard from Brandalism's 2012 action. Artist: Bill Posters.
Photo credit: Brandalism, 2012.

Caught Lying *p.83*
Artist: Barnbrook Studies. Photo credit: Brandalism, 2015.

Deaths in Custody *p.84*
Poster from Special Patrol Group's Total Propganda campaign.
Photo credit: SPG, 2015

Ad Hack Manifesto *p.85*
Ad Hack Manifesto in an ad-cabinet at DIY Space for London.
Photo credit: SPG, 2016.

COLOUR SECTION 1

a. TOSAT Takeover 1
Artist: BLA. Photo credit: Jordan Seiler, 2010.

b. TOSAT Takeover 2
Artist: Skullohone. Photo credit: Jordan Seiler, 2010.

c. MASAT Takeover
Photo credit: Jamie Alekos, 2011.

d. MASAT Work in Progress
Photo credit: Jamie Alekos, 2011.

e. Brandalism Work in Progress

Photo credit: Brandalism, 2015.

f. Riot City
Artist: Bill Posters. Photo credit: Brandalism, 2014.

g. Total Murderers
Artist: Peter Willis. Photo credit: Brandalism, 2014.

h. COP 21
Artist: Paul Insect. Photo credit: Brandalism, 2015.

i. Don't Vote!
Artist: Special Patrol Group. Photo credit: Scarlett Brown, 2015.

j. #stopDSEI
Artist: Barnbrook Studios. Photo credit: SPG, 2015.

k. Advertising Shits In Your Head
Artist: SPG. Photo credit: SPG, 2016.

l. Dismaland Programme Advert
Page 2 Dismaland programme featuring an advert for Ad Space Hack Packs. Credit: Banksy, 2015.
Arbor Familia

m. Abor Familia
Artist: Simon Giraldo.
Photo Credit: Siomara Giraldo Bedoya, 2015.

n. What a Hunt – Jeremy Hunt
Artist: Dr. D. Photo Credit: Dr. D, 2016.

o. What a Hunt – Donald Trump
Artist: Dr. D. Photo Credit: Dr. D, 2016.

p. Social Cleansing
Artist: Dr. D. Photo Credit: Dr. D, 2015.

COLOUR SECTION 2

a. Wax Chick
Artist: Vasilisa Forbes

b. Sisters Uncut Billboard

Artist: Sisters Uncut. Photo credit: Sisters Uncut, 2016

c. Sisters Uncut Busstop
Artist: Sisters Uncut. Photo credit: Sisters Uncut, 2016

d. Max Stirner
Artist: Illustre Feccia. Photo credit: Illustre Feccia

e. Payday Loans
Artist: Spelling Mistakes Cost Lives. Photo credit: SPG, 2014.

f. Support The Heathrow 13
Artist: Matt Bonner/Revolt Design. Photo credit: SPG, 2016.

g. No Pride In War
Artist: Matt Bonner/Revolt Design. Photo credit: SPG, 2016.

h. Israeli Aparthied Week tube carriage poster
Photo credit: London Palestine Action, 2016.

i. #stopDSEI tube carriage poster
Artist: Matt Bonner/Revolt Design.
Photo credit: Stop The Arms Fair, 2015.

j. Resist Immigration Raids
Photo credit: Anti-Raids Network, 2016.

k. Detained
Photo credit: Detained Voices, 2016.

l. Squat the Lot!
Artist: Hogre. Photo credit: Hogre, 2016.

m. Neighbourhood Snitch
Artist: Hogre. Photo credit: Hogre, 2016.

n. Total Cunts
Artist: Peter Willis. Photo credit, SPG 2014.

o. ACAB
Photo credit: SPG, 2016

p. Advertising Shits In Your Head
Artist: Protest Stencil.
Photo credit: Hooked Blog/Mark Rigney, 2016.

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"As well as a peddler of goods, Bernays served the American governments propaganda efforts during the First World War. Deeply suspicious of mass democracy, he felt the public mind had to be guided for its own good. Mass consumption was the tonic, providing not only a safe outlet for the dangerous emotional energies of the populace, but a vital boost to industry. Economic growth is the fundamental aim to which our societies have been engineered, and for the economy to produce more, we need to consume more."

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5. Bernays, E., 1928. Propaganda New York: Ig Publishing [2005] P.48.

6. Bernays, E., 1928. Propaganda New York: Ig Publishing [2005] P.57.

"A desire for a specific reform, however widespread, cannot be translated into action until it is made articulate, and until it has exerted sufficient pressure upon the proper law-making bodies. Millions of housewives may feel that manufactured foods deleterious to health should be prohibited. But there is little chance that their individual desires will be translated into effective legal form unless their half-expressed demand can be organized, made vocal, and concentrated upon the state legislature or upon the Federal Congress in some mode which will produce the results they desire. Whether they realise it or not, they call upon propaganda to organise and effectuate their demand."

7. Bernays, E., 1928. Propaganda New York: Ig Publishing [2005] P.48.

"I am aware that to many minds the word propaganda carries to many minds an unpleasant connotation. Yet whether, in any instance, propaganda is good or bad depends upon the merit of the cause urged, and the correctness of the information published."

8. Bernays, E., 1928. Propaganda New York: Ig Publishing [2005] P.37.

9. Bernays, E., 1928. Propaganda New York: Ig Publishing [2005] P.57.

"It might be better to have, instead of propaganda and special pleading, committees of wise men who would choose our rulers, dictate our conduct, decide upong the best types of clothes for us to wear and the best kind of foods for us to eat. But we have chosen the opposite method, that of open competition. We must find a way to make free competition function with reasonable smoothness. To achieve this society has consented to permit free competition to be organised by leadership and propaganda."

10. Bernays, E., 1928. Propaganda New York: Ig Publishing [2005] P.39.

"I believe that competition in the future will not only be an adveritisng competition between individual products or between big associations, but that it will in addition be a competition of propaganda."

11. Brandalism, 2015. Brandalism at COP 21 // Paris // 2015, Brandalism [online] Available at: http://www.brandalism.org.uk/brandalism-cop21

12. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 16.

13. Ibid.

14. Kleinfeld, P, 2015. We Spoke to a Dismaland Artist Who's Behind the Anti-Arms Dealer Posters Going Up All Over London. VICE [online] Available at: http://www.vice.com/en_uk/read/dsei-posters

15. Gibson, O, 2005. Shopper's Eye View of Ads that Pass Us By. Guardian [online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/nov/19/advertising.marketingandpr

16. Or even that it has a positive affect on the consumer: "People love outdoor advertising because of the way it entertains and amuses, because it brings a smile to the dreariest of tube journeys between Cockfosters and Piccadilly."

Mahdawi, A, 2015. Can Cities Kick Ads? Inside the Global Movement to Ban Urban Billboards. Guardian [online]. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/aug/11/can-cities-kick-ads-ban-urban-billboards

17. Sutherland, R, 2010. We Can't Run Away From the Ethical Debates in Marketing. Market Leader, Q1, P.59.

"The truth is that marketing raises enormous ethical questions every day – at least it does if you're doing it right. If this were not the case, the only possible explanations are either that you believe

marketers are too ineffectual to make any difference, or you believe that marketing activities only affect people at the level of conscious argument. Neither of these possibilities appeals to me. I would rather be thought of as evil than useless." [written as President of the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA)].

18. Gibson, O, 2005. Shoppers Eye View of Ads that Pass Us By. Guardian [online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/nov/19/advertising.marketingandpr

19. Heath, R & Nairn, A, 2004. Measuring Affective Advertising: Implications of Low Attention Processing on Recall. University of Bath School of Management Working Paper Series.

20. Galbraith, J.K., 1958. The Affluent Society, London: Penguin [1999] P.129.

"As a society becomes increasingly affluent, wants are increasingly created by the process by which they are satisfied. This may operate passively. Increases in consumption, the counterpart of increases in production, act by suggestion or emulation to create wants. Expectation rises with attainment. Or producers may proceed actively to create wants through advertising and salesmanship."

21. Jung, C. & Seldon, B.J., 1995. The Macroeconomic Relationship Between Advertising and Consumption. Southern Economic Journal, 61, P557-587.

22. Alexander, J; Crompton, T; Shrubsole, G, 2011. Think of me as Evil? Opening the Ethical Debates in Advertising, P18.

"Since human needs are finite, but human greed is not, economic growth can usually be maintained through the artificial creation of needs through advertising."

23. Gannon, Z. & Lawson, N., The Advertising Effect: How do we get the Balance of Advertising Right? Compass, P.13.

"In the UK as individuals we now owe a collective £1.3 trillion on credit cards, store cards, mortgages and loans. This figure is around 140 per cent of household income and has increased dramatically

over the last decade; it stood at 105 percent just ten years ago. Our total individual borrowing is equivalent to a third of the UK's GDP, which in 2008 stood at £3.1 trillion."

24. Gannon, Z. & Lawson, N., The Advertising Effect: How do we get the Balance of Advertising Right? Compass, P13 "To pay for our increasingly lavish consumer lifestyle there are two options: work harder and longer or borrow. We are doing both."

25. Brandalism, 2015. Why Brandalise? Brandalism [online] Available at: http://www.brandalism.org.uk/why-brandalise

26. Gannon, Z. & Lawson, N., (Date unknown). The Advertising Effect: How do we get the Balance of Advertising Right? Compass, P18.

27. Cronin, Anne, M. 2010. Advertising, Commercial Spaces and the Urban, P.1. [online] Available at: http://www.research.lancs.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/-(8608315d-ea5e-4ac0-a319-6bd51341d814).html

28. London Street Art Design/Anon, 2014. LSD Magazine Interviews Public Ad Campaign. London Street Art Design [online] Available at: http://londonstreetartdesign.co.uk/lsd-magazine-interviews-public-ad-campaign/

"I don't think anyone is going to sit there and say advertising encourages a large portion of our more interesting goals for ourselves as a society, like community, taking care of our children correctly and education. Advertising doesn't address those things, it deals with our base needs, our ego, and our desire for purchase, so when you allow it to proliferate in that setting you are really saying that we are ok with having a society based on Hummers and diamond rings, and when you start to look at that issue you start to realise that maybe this is about defining the world we would really like to live in."

29. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 16.

30. Seiller, J, 2016. Sounds Like A Manifesto. Public Ad Campaign Daily [online] Available at: http://daily.publicadcampaign.com/2016/03/sounds-like-manifesto.html

"This deception, taking place in public space, makes the offense all the more malevolent as our shared environment must function as a place in which collectivity can manifest. Instead the predominant messages and cultural values we enforce in public space actively appeal to our individuality and or commercial segmentation. True holistic visions of society that include the economic and social justice at the heart of real societal reform lie outside of capitalism and thus the corporate media agenda that we allow unfettered access to our shared pubic spaces."

31. Cronin, Anne, M. 2010. Advertising, Commercial Spaces and the Urban, P.10. [online] Available at: http://www.research.lancs.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/-(8608315d-ea5e-4ac0-a319-6bd51341d814).html

32. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 16.

"These studies are finally proving what many have suspected for decades: advertising affects and normalises attitudes, behaviors and values. Advertising doesn't just reflect culture, as the industry purports, it actively shapes our values. Could we therefore say that the control of our collective values remains with those who can afford it?"

33. Schwartz, Shalom, 1992. Basic Human Values: An Overview. [online] Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/file.PostFileLoader.html?id=57239305217e20f6586c54d4&assetKey=AS%3A356254875701248%401461949189017.

34. Alexander, J; Crompton, T; Shrubsole, G, 2011. Think of me as Evil? Opening the Ethical Debates in Advertising, 3.1, P.24.

35. Alexander, J; Crompton, T; Shrubsole, G, 2011. Think of me as Evil? Opening the Ethical Debates in Advertising, 3.2, P30

"The great majority of advertising money is spent in ways that appeal to extrinsic values – that is, values associated with lower motivation to address social or environmental problems. This is to be expected: the behavior sought as an output of almost all advertising is an act of consumption."

36. Alexander, J; Crompton, T; Shrubsole, G, 2011. Think of me as Evil? Opening the Ethical Debates in Advertising, 3.1, P.28.

37. Alexander, J; Crompton, T; Shrubsole, G, 2011. Think of me as Evil? Opening the Ethical Debates in Advertising, 33, P.31.

"As these values are primed repeatedly, they are likely to be strengthened. This is likely to happen through an automatic route as well as an effortful route of cognitive processing. Through the automatic route, priming values strengthens links between environmental cues and these values in the way that information is stored in our memory (i.e. our schemas). This serves to strengthen these values automatically, even without awareness on the part of the person. In addition, through the effortful route, messages that strengthen existing values provide people with further proof that the values are indeed important and worth pursuing. Hence, through effortful cognitive thinking about these values and their importance, these values are strengthened and the environmental cues provide evidence and reasons for the importance of these values."

38. Public Interest Research Centre (PIRC), 2016. Values, Framing and Advertising.

39. Alexander, J; Crompton, T; Shrubsole, G, 2011. Think of me as Evil? Opening the Ethical Debates in Advertising, 3.1, P29.

40. Harvey, D., 2008. The Right to the City. New Left Review, 53, P.32.

41. Bernays, E., 1928. Propaganda New York: Ig Publishing [2005] P.90.

42. Iveson, K., 2012. Branded Cities: outdoor advertising, urban governance, and the outdoor media landscape. Antipode, Vol. 44, No.1, P152.

"Advertising spending is increasingly dominated by large multinational corporations who seek to advertise their many products and services across regional and global markets".

43. Flood, C., 2012. British Posters: Advertising, Art and Activism. V&A: London. P82.

"As graphic design writer Angharad Lewis puts it: 'If you can afford the bug, prominent sites, you are tolerated and legalised, otherwise you are deemed beyond control, your message is torn down and you are criminalised'. In the view of Malcolm McLaren (former manager of the Sex Pistols): 'This seems to be about ensuring that control of culture remains with those who can afford it. To ban fly-posting will be another arrow in the heart of our ability as a society to accommodate contrary points of view'."

44. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 16.

"It is important to consider here that the spaces reclaimed by artists are in public space, despite being privately owned and operated by multinational advertising corporations. There are hundreds of thousands of these spaces across the UK, but we have never consented to being pissed on from above by their messages and their branded advertisements. This is fundamentally different to the other forms of advertising that we come into contact with and have, to a greater extent, some agency over. We can choose to turn a page, a channel or install software on our computers to remove these trespassers on our visual realm. We have no such luxury concerning public space."

45. Seiler, J, 2015. Public Access [online] Available at: http://www.publicadcampaign.com/PublicAccess/Index.html

"Nearly every major metropolitan city has an active bus or trolley

system. Over the years, this vital public service has become an integral part of the global outdoor advertising industry in the form of bus shelters and other municipal infrastructure. Chances are if a city has a meaningful surface transit, a select few global outdoor advertising companies will operate public amenities like bus shelters, for which they have the sole right to display for profit commercial advertising."

46. Mahdawi, A, 2015. Can Cities Kick Ads? Inside the Global Movement to Ban Urban Billboards. Guardian [online]. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/aug/11/can-cities-kick-ads-ban-urban-billboards

47. Ibid.

48. London Street Art Design/Anon, 2014. LSD Magazine Interviews Public Ad Campaign. London Street Art Design [online] Available at: http://londonstreetartdesign.co.uk/lsd-magazine-interviews-public-ad-campaign/

49. Iveson, K., 2012. Branded Cities: outdoor advertising, urban governance, and the outdoor media landscape. Antipode, Vol. 44, No.1, P170.

"Even if we had no political concerns about the impact of advertising-funded urban infrastructure, the sustainability of the funding model is open to question. Just because street furniture is provided at no cost to urban authorities does not make it "free"—expenditure on advertising makes up part of the cost of products which are advertised, so "we" are still paying for it as consumers if not as tax payers."

50. Harvey, D., 2008. The Right to the City. New Left Review, 53, P.23.

51. Harvey, D., 2008. The Right to the City. New Left Review, 53, P.40.

"One step towards unifying these struggles is to adopt the right to the city as both working slogan and political ideal, precisely

because it focuses on the question of who commands the necessary connection between urbanization and surplus production and use. The democratization of that right, and the construction of a broad social movement to enforce its will is imperative if the dispossessed are to take back the control which they have for so long been denied, and if they are to institute new modes of urbanization. Lefebvre was right to insist that the revolution has to be urban, in the broadest sense of that term, or nothing at all."

52. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 16.

53. Seiler, J, 2016. Sounds Like A Manifesto. Public Ad Campaign Daily [online] Available at: http://daily.publicadcampaign.com/2016/03/sounds-like-manifesto.html

"By reclaiming our streets and demanding a public visual landscape that reflects the public's concerns over a commercial agenda, we call upon a prized and shared civic resource to host the revolution once again."

54. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 17.

55. Derkeyser, T., 2015. Hack Packs and the Right to the City: Some Thoughts. Distorted Space [online] Available at: https://distortedspace.com/2015/11/10/hackpacks-and-the-right-to-the-city-some-thoughts/

"Indeed, what if artists re-embed these spaces with their own brands, their stylish logos, seeking attention from the commodified arts industry, where then do the politics of billboard distortion arrive? What kinds of worlds does it then open up to? Are we not, in this instance, devaluating any claims at seriously asserting our right to the city, in 'branding' it our own, once again, and following Michel Serres' conception, polluting urban space like jungle-animals bounding their physical territories?"

56. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 16.

57. Mahdawi, A, 2015. Can Cities Kick Ads? Inside the Global Movement to Ban Urban Billboards. Guardian [online]. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/aug/11/can-cities-kick-ads-ban-urban-billboards

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Iveson, K., 2012. Branded Cities: outdoor advertising, urban governance, and the outdoor media landscape. Antipode, Vol. 44, No.1, P152.

62. Seiler, J., 2016. Research interview. Vyvian Raoul

63. Seiler, J., 2016. Research interview. Vyvian Raoul

"In my own experience I've found that it's like a Hydra, you cut off one head and two more grow. There is far too much money to be had for the industry to just turn tail and run. No matter what sort of laws and regulations you pass... we have restrictions in New York and LA and they just ignore them and are willing to deal with the fines. This industry is inherently willing to break the law, their business model is based on it. This is why I think regulation's not a good final goal, it really has to be a societal shift that says this stuff hurts us, it needs to go away fully, and without that it's just gonna creep back in."

64. Flood, C., 2012. British Posters: Advertising, Art and Activism. V&A: London. P82.

Catherine Flood has its emergence as much later than the 1970s and begins her account with the anti-globalisation movement and the inception of Adbusters in 1989: "At the same time anti-globalisation, in tandem with radical environmentalism, emerged as an umbrella movement for a new wave of world-wide activism in which the practices of corporate marketing and global branding

were held up to scrutiny. The form of graphic protest most closely associated with anti-globalisation is 'subvertising', whereby the advertisements or multinational brands are satirized by being doctored or spoofed. Adbusters, founded in 1989 in Vancouver, became a flagship organisation for this kind of creative resistance, propagating subvertising and 'culture jamming' around the world through its magazine, campaigns and competitions."

65. B.U.G.A. U.P, 2012. FAQs, [online] Available at: http://www.bugaup.org/faq.htm

"In the 1970s in Australia, tobacco and other advertising was everywhere - indoor, outdoor, in cinemas and on television. Huge tobacco advertisements covered the sides of buildings, or blared from their rooftops. Freeways and roads had tobacco signs along the way. Billboards were at railway stations and between stops, in train carriages and on buses. The medical profession wrote submissions to have them removed, in vain. The visual environment had become dominated by advertising and the few regulations that existed were ineffective. Someone had to do something about it!"

66. B.U.G.A. U.P, 2012. FAQs, [online] Available at: http://www.bugaup.org/faq.htm

"BUGA-UP was one of the earliest examples of culture Jamming in the world, and certainly in Australia. Culture jamming is often seen as a form of subvertising and this was certainly a prime objective of BUGA-UP."

67. Billboard Liberation Front, date unknown. History and Timeline [online] Available at: http://www.billboardliberation.com/history.html

"Glikk and Napier form the BLF and christen it by altering and improving 9 "Fact Cigarette" boards around San Francisco on Christmas Day. With the help of Simon Wagstaff (BLF's 1st press agent) they publicize their premier Billboard action for maximum exposure and impact."

68. The Art and Science of Billboard Improvement is the classic BLF text that is still in circulation – both in print and online – today: http://www.billboardliberation.com/ArtAndScience-BLF.pdf

69. Seiler, J., 2016. Advertising Takeovers Practical Workshop. Public Ad Campaign Daily, available online: http://daily.publicadcampaign.com/2016/07/advertising-takeovers-practical-workshop.html

"Subvertising is the practice of altering, removing, or reversing of commercial outdoor media spaces that has seen an emergence over the last few years."

70. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 16.

"a networked culture, a 'movement of movements', centered around global solidarity – a worldwide activism spawned by globalisation and driven by citizens, new media technologies and the expansion of art's urban context – has emerged in the last decade."

71. Derkeyser, T., 2015. Why Artists Installed 600 Fake Adverts at COP 21. Distorted Space [online] Available at: https://distortedspace.com/2015/12/30/why-artists-installed-600-fake-adverts-at-cop21/

72. Barlett, J., 2015. The Climate Activists Who Secretly Replace Adverts with Artwork, Telegraph [online] Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/earth/paris-climate-change-conference/12063081/The-climate-activists-who-secretly-replace-adverts-with-artwork.html

73. Gilman-Opalsky, R., 2013. Unjamming the Insurrectionary Imagination: Rescuing Detournement from the Liberal Complacencies of Culture Jamming, Theory in Action, Vol. 6, No. 3. P5.

"Culture jamming attempts to intervene in the visual landscape that shapes how we think, because culture jammers understand that everything we see sends us messages, that the visual landscape is not a neutral terrain."

74. Brandalism, 2014. Why Brandalise? Available online: http://www.brandalism.org.uk/why-brandalise

Brandalism specifically cites the work of the Situationists as one of their inspirations: The Brandalism project started in 2012, as an extension of the guerilla art traditions of the 20th Century, and a manifestation of various elements influenced by agitprop, the Situationists and graffiti movements.

75. Gilman-Opalsky, R., 2013. Unjamming the Insurrectionary Imagination: Rescuing Detournement from the Liberal Complacencies of Culture Jamming, Theory in Action, Vol. 6, No. 3. P1 "Detournement is political plagerism, distortion, hijacking, or otherwise rerouting something against itself. For Debord, detournement was a revolutionary project 'undertaken within the present conditions of oppression, in order to destroy those conditions'."

76. Gilman-Opalsky, R., 2013. Unjamming the Insurrectionary Imagination: Rescuing Detournement from the Liberal Complacencies of Culture Jamming, Theory in Action, Vol. 6, No. 3. P5.

"Culture jammers try to send counter messages into the public to intervene in the existing regime of truth, to challenge the general politics of truth, to challenge what counts as true with other truths or real truths that are otherwise obscured by mainstream discourses of power."

77. Gilman-Opalsky, R., 2013. Unjamming the Insurrectionary Imagination: Rescuing Detournement from the Liberal Complacencies of Culture Jamming, Theory in Action, Vol. 6, No. 3. P6 "Changing the codified meanings of things is an intervention; it is a form of praxis. Culture jammers change the meanings of their hijacked source materials; that is often their primary form of intervention."

78. Dekeyser, T., 2016. Distorting Urban Habits: Subvertising and the Re-engineering of Urban Affect. Association of American Geographers lecture.

"positions subvertising as an attempted intervention into habit-bodies where it may function as an external 'event that undoes the holding together that habit performs' and may offer the ground from which habitual actions 'can resurface in consciousness where action can be evaluated and recalibrated'."

79. Gilman-Opalsky, R., 2013. Unjamming the Insurrectionary Imagination: Rescuing Detournement from the Liberal Complacencies of Culture Jamming, Theory in Action, Vol. 6, No. 3. P15.

80. Dekeyser, T., 2016. Distorting Urban Habits: Subvertising and the Re-engineering of Urban Affect. Association of American Geographers lecture.

Dekeyser describes the three challenges subvertisers face: "Firstly, subvertisements may easily be ignored if the habitual passive interaction with advertising space is too strong. Secondly, the progression of habit-evaluation and modulation takes time and may require both persistence and patience. This means they require disruptive triggers that are expressed across a broad multiplicity of spatiotemporal assemblages. Thirdly, Bissell (2014: 489) has also pointed out how, at times, 'events of disruption become synthesised into habit's refrain' where the capacities of habit to absorb or neutralise future unwanted challenges to habitual modes of thought, feeling and behaviour are reduced. The result then of subvertisements might even perform an intensification of existing inclinations or refrains that thickens the 'protective guarantee' of urban habits rather than reducing their abilities to maintain in place."

81. Flood, C., 2012. British Posters: Advertising, Art and Activism. V&A: London. P82

82. Including what it considers to be "art-washing", where individual companies will allow art to be displayed in their sites for a limited period of time, but ultimately retain control over those sites.

83. Debord, G. For a Revolutionary Judgement of Art, Situationist International Anthology. P403

84. Gilman-Opalsky, R., 2013. Unjamming the Insurrectionary Imagination: Rescuing Detournement from the Liberal Complacencies of Culture Jamming, Theory in Action, Vol. 6, No. 3. P15.

"If the "new activism is led by a small cast of celebrity activists, including maybe 100-1000 assistant workers behind the scenes, culture jamming becomes a voyeuristic politics, where very few do while most continue to watch."

85. Boland, S., 2015. How Special Patrol Group are Encouraging the Public to Hack Advertising Space. New Statesman, [online] Available at: http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/media/2015/09/how-special-patrol-group-are-encouraging-public-hack-advertising-space

86. Seiler, J., 2016. Research interview. Vyvian Raoul

87. Ibid.

88. Blake, J., 2014. Brandalism and Subvertising: What's Behind the New Rebellion Against Advertising? Left Foot Forward, [online] Available at: http://leftfootforward.org/2014/05/brandalism-and-subvertising-whats-behind-the-new-rebellion-against-advertising/

89. Stop TTIP, 2016. 700 Affiches Publicitaires Remplacees par un Message anti-TTIP [video online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=_y2ikdev-P0

90. Brandalism, 2014. A Guide to Interacting with Bus Stop Advertising Spaces. Available online: http://www.brandalism.org.uk/resources

91. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 16.

"To build the movement, we now run workshops showing other people how to intervene and take back these spaces."

92. Special Patrol Group, 2015. Total Propaganda. Available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dbW2WiNCeWg&sns

93. Seiler, J., 2016. Advertising Takeovers Practical Workshop. Public Ad Campaign Daily, available online: http://daily.publicadcampaign.com/2016/07/advertising-takeovers-practical-workshop.html

94. Taken from 'Brandalism' in the book Cut It Out by Banksy (2004), inspired by an article by S Tejaratchi "Death, Phones, Scissors" (July 1999) 6 Crap Hound.

95. Dr, D. 2014. An Idiots Guide to Flyposting, STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 8, Nov-Dec 2014, p. 16 & 17.

96. Boland, S., 2015. How Special Patrol Group are Encouraging the Public to Hack Advertising Space. New Statesman, [online] Available at: http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/media/2015/09/how-special-patrol-group-are-encouraging-public-hack-advertising-space

97. Seiler, J., 2009. New York Street Advertising Takeover [online] Available at: http://www.publicadcampaign.com/nysat/

"It should be noted that between the two NYSAT projects, 9 people were arrested spending a total of 310 hours in jail collectively. Despite all cases being dismissed, we still cannot thank these participants enough for their sacrifice."

98. Graeber, D., 2011. Interview With David Graeber. The White Review [online]. Available at: http://www.thewhitereview.org/interviews/interview-with-david-graeber/

"Well the reason anarchists like direct action is because it means refusing to recognise the legitimacy of structures of power. Or even the necessity of them. Nothing annoys forces of authority more than trying to bow out of the disciplinary game entirely and saying that we could just do things on our own. Direct action is a matter of acting as if you were already free."

99. Seiler, J., 2016. Research interview. Vyvian Raoul

100. A French subvertising group founded in 2006. Roughly translates to 'the uncouplers'.

101. Day Against Ads, 2015. [online] Available at: http://dayagainstad.org/on-march-25th-2016-lets-clean-up-the-planet-of-ads/

"Why March 25th? This is the anniversary of a French court decision confirming the legitimacy of our common struggle. On 25 March 2013, a constitutional court judge found a group of anti-advertising activists from Les Déboulonneurs group not guilty of 'degradation'. The group had publicly and symbolically spray-painted advertising billboards in 2009, but they were acquitted in the name of 'freedom of speech' and 'reason of necessity' against advertising oppression. This historic 2013 ruling can act as a call to action for all those around the world seeking to challenge the role of corporate advertising in our lives."

102. Agit Art Works. Lawful Excuse, How does it work? [online] Available at: http://agitartworks.com/subvertising/getoutofjailfreecard.htm

103. Bx1, Brussels Media, 2016. The STIB and JCDecaux file complaints against X after anti-TTIP wild display [online] Available at: http://bx1.be/news/la-stib-et-jcdecaux-portent-plainte-contre-x-apres-laffichage-sauvage-anti-ttip/

104. Groom, J. & Smith-Anthony, A., 2015. Brandalism and subvertising: hoisting brands with their own petard? Journal of Intellectual Property Law & Practice, 2015, Vol. 10, No. 1

105. Seiler, J., 2016. Research interview. Vyvian Raoul

106. Dekeyser, T., 2016. Robert Montgomery: Public Subvertising as Intimate Poetry. Distorted Space [online] Available at: https://distortedspace.com/2016/08/02/robert-montgomery-public-subvertising-as-intimate-poetry/ [Accessed: 23rd August 2016]

Other subvertisers, such as Robert Montgomery, have been criticised for their aesthetic similarity to advertising: "His work never truly appears as non-advertising at first sight; the typography forms and narrow spacing are fashionable, the white-on-black aesthetic equally.

People walk past it like any other advert desperately screaming for their eyes, hearts and social connections."

107. Seiler, J., 2016. Research interview. Vyvian Raoul

108. Seiler, J., 2009. New York Street Advertising Takeover [online] Available at: http://www.publicadcampaign.com/nysat/

109. Seiler, J., 2010. Toronto Street Advertising Takeover [online] Available at: http://www.publicadcampaign.com/tosat

110. Seiler, J., 2010. Madrid Street Advertising Takeover [online] Available at: http://www.publicadcampaign.com/masat/

111. Seiler, J., 2016. Research interview. Vyvian Raoul

112. Seiler, J., 2014. Public Access [online] Available at: http://www.publicadcampaign.com/PublicAccess/Index.html

113. Posters, B., 2016. Research Interview. Vyvian Raoul

114. Ibid.

115. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 16

"How could we, as creative people, help re-democratise public space and share alternative messages about the social and environmental injustices caused by consumerism? How can we break their monopoly over message and meaning in public space?"

116. Posters, B, 2014. Advertising Shits in Your Head. STRIKE! Magazine, Issue 7 Sep-Oct 2014, p. 17

"Internationally recognised artists were involved, but on the street you wouldn't know it: all the words were unsigned and anonymously installed within public space, as gifts to society"

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"To redress the balance a bit, we came up with our own posters. They're available for you to freely download and distribute – help us spread the word and print yourself out some counter-propaganda today!"

122. Ibid.

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